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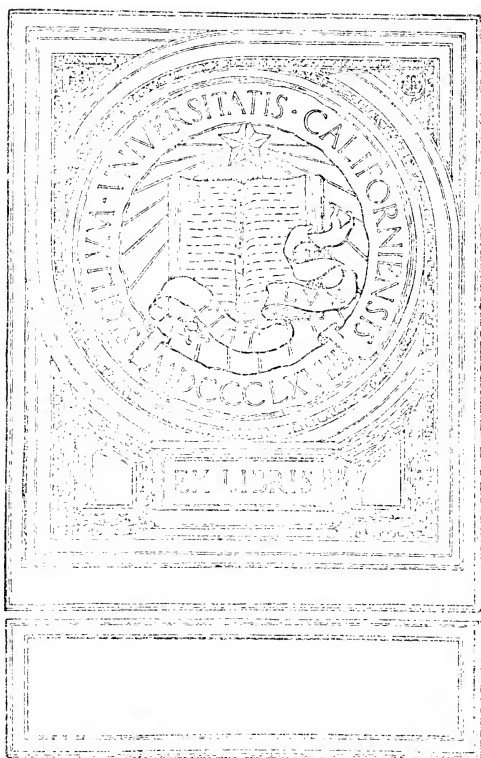


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THE
BAKE-PAN.



TRY IT.



THE NEW YORK
CALCUTTA

A
BAKE-PAN.
FOR
THE DOUGH-FACES.

~~~~~  
BY ONE OF THEM.  
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TRY IT

—
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THE BAKE-PAN.

“ See how his bright Whip, brandished round his head,
Flickers like streamer *in the Northern skies* ;
See how his Ass on earth with nimble tread
Half-flying rides, in air half-riding flies,
Sparkles like flint the cuddy's hoof and burns
Seeming to leave a smoke upon the plain ;
His bitted mouth the foam impatient churns ;
Sweeps his broad tail behind him like a train.”

SOUTH or PETTIT & Co

The climate north of Mason and Dixon's line is extremely cold. It makes no pretensions to more than three months of summer and then the sun only shows its pale face occasionally from between the clouds. The natural consequence is, that many of the inhabitants of these hyperborean regions—I am sorry to say that, in some States, a *majority* of them—are pale-blooded, chicken-livered, and dough-faced, or what in vulgar parlance is termed slack-baked. In many instances, the face, especially, which is unprotected from the effect of the humid and relaxing qualities of the atmosphere, remains permanently of such consistency that it can be readily *moulded*, like a loaf of unbaked bread, to any shape to suit the wearer, or others who may know how to obtain leave to experiment upon it. In a suitable temperature, and in the absence of excess of moisture, most of these faces, doubtless, are capable of assuming the qualities of good pie-crust, that is, they would break before they would bend. It is known, however, to housewives and pastry cooks, that certain kinds of dough melt, instead of becoming hardened by heat. They are of the nature of wax ; and it is very difficult to make this kind of pastry retain the forms with which it comes out of the moulds. This is the kind of pastry

out of which the "dough-faces" *par excellence* are moulded.—Thank heaven this sort of dough bears an exceedingly small proportion in the community, as in the kitchen, to the other kind. The faces composed of this latter material, however pale and *soft*, may be brought to a good color, and become *fixed*, by artificial temperature, by being, as it were, *rebaked*. The waxy kind I would advise all people to let alone, except those for whose interest it is to try shapes upon them. Kind reader, is it not devoutly to be wished that all the dough-faces were brought to a good healthy brown, or *blush*, at least, except the few which are liquifiable by heat before the requisite temperature is attained?

It is probably remembered by the oldest inhabitant, and perhaps some others, that anciently, before the days of stoves and other modern progress, there was to be found in most kitchens, a piece of furniture or utensil commonly called a bake-pan, or Dutch oven. This article was extremely convenient for getting up *extempore* bread, especially where coals were plenty, as they were every where in those days. The coals were placed under the bottom of the vessel which bestrode them upon its three short legs, and also upon the broad bason-shaped cover, so that it not only gave a quick bake, but the top or *face* of the loaf could readily be brought to any desired consistency and color.

The cheerly old bake-pan has, I think, quite disappeared from Northern kitchens. But in the patriarchal and oriental South, which is not subject to change, not under the inconvenient and expensive laws of progress, where towns and villages and plantations might be supposed from their appearance to have been merely submerged, but not washed away or buried by Noah's flood, where the maid-servant still "grinds at the mill," that is, rubs the corn between two flat stones for her master's hominy, where the kitchen is not in *the* house and the oven is on a stump, in the unchanging South, these ancient bake-pans are still in great repute and great plenty.

Now the South, the "Sunny South," is very fond of *color*, and also of *hardfeaturedness*, as manly and chivalrous; hence it has great contempt and a sort of pity for a dough-face, as implying both *softness* and paleness, and these again a lack of *firmness*, or unmanliness. The South, therefore, very generously (the

South is famed for its knightly (nightly) qualities,) and compassionately offers to furnish any number of the aforesaid Dutch ovens sufficient for a rebake of the whole dough-face population, with the exception of the waxy species, of which she wishes to make some further use before they are melted down. I doubt not we shall have occasion shortly to be grateful for this condescending and patronizing offer of our elder brother. Nothing could be more timely, and nothing could be more convenient for the purpose than the good old bake-pan. Its size is just sufficient for a single face, so that each can be done to a turn, and the requisite ruddy complexion be brought out by managing properly the coals upon the cover. Nothing was more common anciently than to do the "minister's face" in them; how firm and crisp and warm-colored it came out, it is delightful to remember. But inasmuch as fuel has become scarce in these rigorous latitudes, and our ancient hearths with their generous fires have disappeared, (since which, by the way, doughiness of face has alarmingly increased) the South kindly consents, not only to furnish bake-pans but coals to match. Certainly the South is very disinterested, so far as to disregard one's own interest is disinterestedness, thus to come up to the help of an inefficient climate to *set our faces* for us. If any gentleman dough-face is conscious of being "slack-baked," let him place his head in the pan. I think he will find the Southern coals sufficiently warming; and if they do not set the crust and bring out the color, it must be because he is not a red-blooded animal, or else his face is of the waxy species. Or if the Southern coals do not bring the oven up to the requisite temperature, there are plenty of fire-brands on the North side of the line, or what *was* a line, which can be put under it. I, for one, confess to having been, until recently, rather *pale*, if not soft, and certainly, on trying the bake-pan, I found the heat so intolerable, and the indignation so burning, that I have been unable to bear it except a few minutes at a time, and yet the effect has been such that my friends hardly know me, and wonder how I have become so *changed*.

That we may not crack the pan or scorch the pastry, let us "fire up" gradually by placing the oven over a shovelful of

Virginia *embers*. Virginia is not very far South, and will be North shortly, Mr. *Examiner*.

The following is from the Richmond (Va.) *Examiner* :

"The South has for years been overrun with hordes of illiterate, unprincipled graduates of the Yankee free schools, (those hot beds of self-conceit and ignorance.) who have by dint of unblushing impudence, established themselves as schoolmasters in our midst. These creatures, with rare exceptions, have not deserved the protection of our laws.— They bear, neither in person nor in mind, a very strong resemblance to human beings. So odious are some of these "*itinerant ignoramuses*" to the people of the South; so full of abolitionism and concealed incendiarism are many of this class; so full of guile, fraud and deceit, that the deliberate shooting of one of them down, in the act of poisoning the minds of our slaves or our children, we think, if regarded as homicide at all, should always be deemed *perfectly justifiable*; and we imagine that the propriety of shooting an abolition schoolmaster, when caught tampering with our slaves, has never been questioned by any intelligent Southern man. This we take to be the unwritten law of the South. We repeat, that the shooting of itinerant abolition schoolmasters is frequently a creditable and laudable act, entitling a respectable Southern man to, at least a seat in the Legislature, or a place in the Common Council. Let all Yankee schoolmasters who propose invading the South, endowed with a strong nasal twang, a long scriptural name, and Webster's lexicographic book of abominations, seek some more congenial land, where their lives will be more secure than in the vile and "homicidal Slave States." We shall be glad if the ravings of the Abolition press about the Ward acquittal, shall have this effect."

What is the temperature of that, Mr. Dough-face? What is it by your thermometers, ye teachers of Northern Schools, ye, of the faculty of Northern Colleges who graduate such *ignoramuses*? What do you think of it, ye fathers who spent your money to educate your sons into fools and knaves; ye mothers who have borne things having so little "resemblance to human beings?" If one of "these creatures" should speak to a Negro—What for? unless he is an abolitionist. And if he presume to rebuke—in his function of Yankee schoolmaster—one of the children of the "dominant race," of the "genuine aristocracy," would not any Ward who, in either case, should "shoot down" the base born menial be *worthy* of Southern promotion? Pray

Mr. *Examiner*, how many of your distinguished men, since the world began, have not been educated either in these same schools at the North, or by these same schoolmasters at home? Since you will no longer come here, and certainly none but the *ignoramus*es you speak of will, hereafter, go there, what proportion of the "dominant race" will by and by be able to read and write, since, even now, a not much larger proportion of you can do so than of the (but yesterday) savages of the Sandwich Islands. However, that is an accomplishment quite undesirable for the "crackers" and "poor white trash" because they are to be managed as entirely as the Negroes, only in a different way—the "genuine aristocracy" has need of their votes. And what if a Southern gentleman cannot read? Would not an old Roman Senator have been ashamed to be a man of learning? Listen, Dough faces, and feel of your cheeks, for here comes the answer in the form of a few coals for the cover.

From the Richmond Enquirer :

"The relations between the North and the South are very analogous to those which subsisted between Greece and the Roman Empire after the subjugation of Achaia by the Consul Mummius. The dignity and energy of the Roman character, conspicuous in war and in politics, were not easily tamed and adjusted to the arts of industry and literature. The degenerate and pliant Greeks, on the contrary, excelled in the handicraft and polite professions. We learn from the vigorous invective of Juvenal, that they were the most useful and capable of servants, whether as pimps or professors of rhetoric. Obsequious, dexterous and ready, the versatile Greeks monopolized the business of teaching, publishing, and manufacturing in the Roman Empire—allowing their masters ample leisure for the service of the State in the Senate, or in the field. The people of the Northern States of this confederacy exhibit the same aptitude for the arts of industry.—They excel as clerks, mechanics, and tradesmen, and they have monopolized the business of teaching, publishing, and peddling."

Pimps! yes, *pimps*! that is the word, fellow dough-faces, no! no longer *fellow* doughfaces, mine, thanks to the bake-pan, is thoroughly crusted over. We are also, it seems, very "obsequious, dexterous and ready" Greek slaves in many other respects, especially in handicraft trades, peddling and teaching so far as

"illiterate ignoramuses" can teach. Thank you, Master! for slaves are fond of praise if they have been well trained, for the reason that what is rare is reckoned valuable. However, I need not remind *you* that it spoils them, just as it does hunting-dogs. Keep the lash in sight, I advise you, or what with the management of African slaves including the "poor white trash" at the South, and Greek slaves at the North, their common "masters" the "genuine aristocracy" will hardly have left "ample leisure for the service of the State, in the Senate or in the field." How is the temperature inside, brother doughface? do your cheeks begin to tingle? Keep cool Sir, you are not yet much warmer than new milk.

These same "masters" of ours notwithstanding their "Roman energy," are a little afraid at times,—such "*useful*" "creatures" we are, they would rather not part with us—that we may bye and bye get up a Northern *servile insurrection* and declare ourselves independent. However, if we should succeed, "degenerate Greeks" as we are, against the "energy" and "ample leisure" of our "masters" to look after us—if we should succeed in running away they have another fugitive slave law in pickle for us. They are still to have "complete control over our destiny;" whether this "control" is to be for our "master's" benefit or our own does not appear. Probably it will be only a disinterested looking after our welfare—if *they should have "ample leisure" at that time*—for it seems, that like other born slaves, we shall not be competent to take care of ourselves.

For listen again to the *Richmond Enquirer*. After saying that the all-pervading element of slavery would, in case of separation, hold the South together, it thus prophetically discours-eth.

"But the Northern States would be bound together by no such principle of Union, and in the absence of the necessary centralizing tendency, diverse and antagonistic interests would scatter them asunder, and perchance drive them into hostile conflict. At any rate the Southern States, moving under the influence of one will and pursuing a single policy, would find it *no difficult task to play off the Northern States one against the other*, and thus acquire *complete control over their destinies*. (You see we are to be managed—in or out of the Union.) It is obvious to the reflecting mind, that if the Northern States

were cut loose from the South (*like a ship without a rudder*) they would be broken up into as many petty communities, or else be overwhelmed in social anarchy. The latter alternative would perhaps be their more probable fate."

Alas! unhappy North! behind us is the lash of our "masters," the stern "Roman Senators," very Catos they are—at *the whip*; before us the precipice on whose rocks we are to be dashed in pieces!! We are like a herd of wretched deer which the merciless wolf-hunt is driving towards the gulf.

But even if we should, by the displeasure of heaven for our contumacy, escape the double danger of recapture, or cutting each other's throats; a destiny still more dire awaits us. Starvation! like a death's head next stares us in the face! and that horrid fate will inevitably be ours, unless our former "masters" of mere pity should continue to feed us, and their bowels of compassion should still be moved to send us the weekly allowance of "a peck of corn." Behold our doom! brother dough-faces. And as we look at it who of us will not look paler than ever, and slink back, if we have dared to dream of freedom, into our proper function of "pimps" and "peddlers"?

"If by some convulsion of nature the Slave States could be sunken beneath the level of the waters, it would involve millions of the inhabitants of the North in bankruptcy, and ruin, and unutterable miseries.

Your lordly merchant and fattened manufacturer, your omnibus men and porters, might all with truth exclaim—

'Othello's occupation's gone.'

Your cities, now your pride and strength, would dwindle into towns; your crowded harbors grow empty and wild; and thousands who now live in contentment and comfort *would beg for bread*, (the peck of corn a week.)

Reverse the picture, and suppose the free States were blotted from creation. Why, sir, the fact would be felt only by our railroad conductors, captains of steamboats, and a few politicians with national aspirations." (Mr. Brooks of S. Carolina in the House of Representatives, March 15, 1854)

Now I take it that if, after successful insurrection, the South should cut our acquaintance (should we escape cutting each other's throats) as of course the South would, it would be the same

thing for us as if the South should be "sunken beneath the level of the waters."

Presumptuous, traitorous North ! hasten to make your submission, lest you have cause to remember the fate of your great prototype, the first arch-rebel, when he exclaimed—

"Me miserable ! which way shall I fly ?

Infinite wrath ! and infinite despair !"

But even so, though we humble ourselves and cease to talk of insurrection, we are still in a very bad way. We are not merely in danger of anarchy, famine or self-destruction if we lose the protection of our "masters," but notwithstanding their guidance and patronage and *example*, our *morals*, alas ! are already "not fit to be spoken of" in modest ears. And what we are coming to in that direction—unless we immediately get missionaries from the land of the "blessed institution"—does not yet appear, except, that our population seems likely to gain, even faster than hitherto, upon that of the South. But here comes a rebuke for our sins—the sin of out-populating the South, especially—which may do us good *if we make the right use of it*.

"The wise old common law carried into practice the Divine institution and produced the finest race of matrons and maidens the world has ever seen ; but the Northern law-givers prefer the law which was the offspring of the corruptions of heathen and imperial Rome ; they divide the household into separate interests ; the domestic hearth is no longer a common property to the family. *The consequences are what they were in Rome—what they are in Italy and Germany and France, where the illegitimate births are 1 in 15.*" (The Union, Past and Future &c. By a Virginian, p. 40.

How is that, *daughters* of New England ? for I suppose the peccadilloes of your *mothers*, at least of the *married* ones, are not reckoned, as they cannot well be come at. "The illegitimate births are 1 in 15" ha ! No wonder our Northern girls—notwithstanding the effect of the climate upon the faces of the men—are such *blushing* beauties. "1 in 15" ! ! Hence the origin of the saying "he is a wise child who knows his own father." This pithy adage must have originated on the north side of "the line" that *was* ; of course it can have no place on the other. "1 in 15" ! How is that in the Faderland, Mein-

herr ? Rather cool ! for people who compel one third of their population to herd together like beasts without any law at all and exclude them wholly from the "Divine institution"; men who *sell* the members of the "domestic hearth" (as they sometimes condescendingly call them) not excepting their own children ! ! "Divide the household into separate interests" do we ?

But where people enjoy the "inalienable right of non-intervention" and of course arrange their "domestic institutions" to suit themselves, untrammelled by the "law-givers," *there* the household can have no separate interests; their *families*—to use the word in the sense in which "heathen and imperial Rome" used it to designate precisely the same thing, a *household including slaves*—*their families* are a unit; *they* have no "separate interests," not even when a father is sold for the rice-swamps of Georgia, the mother to pick cotton on the Red River, and the child for the New Orleans market. *There*, "the domestic hearth is a common property to the *family*." Let us contemplate, brother dough-faces, calmly—do not yet get *crusty*—the "Roman dignity" and the instructive example of our "masters"—we are but degenerate Greeks—*it may do us good*.

If we dissolve the Union and by miracle escape the *inevitable* dangers and destruction which are to be the *certain* consequence of such fool-hardiness, though we may be permitted to lay aside our function of pimps and peddlers for the South, an equally disgraceful one to which we are now *indentured*—that of slave-catching for them—is not to be discontinued. For, hear Mr. Langdon Cheves in the Nashville Convention, who was urging upon the South immediate *secession*.

"The South can hardly overrate its strength when it shall be united. Unite and you will scatter your enemies (tho North) as the the autumn winds do the fallen leaves. Unite, and your slave property shall be protected to the very border of Mason and Dixon's line. Unite, and *the freesoilers shall, at their peril, be a police to prevent the escape of your slaves.*"

Alas ! helpless and hopeless dough-faces, what are *we* to gain by the dissolution of the Union ? This being set to chase fellow-chattels, the white slaves after the black ones, the Greeks after the Africans, this does bring some color into the palest

pastry ; but there is plainly no remedy ; whether *we* "dissolve the Union" or the *South* "secedes," it is all the same to us ; we are to be "*at our peril*" a "*police to prevent the escape of slaves*"—that is *our* destiny.

There has been of late years a good deal of discussion in some quarters, in regard to the proper relation of labor to capital, in regard to the just distribution of the common product, what proportion of the product of labor ought to belong to the laborers. Quite a nut to crack this has been, quite a Gordian knot for the political economists. But—such is the effect of "ample leisure" for reflection—the South, the chivalrous South, steps forward and with the sword of Alexander, *cuts* us that knot with perfect ease and laughs in our faces for attempting to *untie* it. How much ought to belong to the laborers ? nothing ought to belong to them. Give them no wages at all—make slaves or serfs of them, and give them subsistence, a peck of corn a week—give them masters, that is what they ought to have. Listen again to the Richmond (Va.) Examiner. But this is intended especially for our consins from beyond sea, except in so far as we aborigines (one in fifteen of us being illegitimates) resemble them and have need of the same kind of guardianship. Let them walk up and try a bake-pan a piece—there are enough for us all.

Speaking of foreign immigrants (by the way, what could have been the character of the "migration" from which the Examiner is descended) the Examiner says :

"The mass of them are sensual, grovelling, low-minded agrarians·

* * * * * European writers describe a large class of population throughout England and the continent as being distinguished by restless, wandering habits (just like those of the first settlers of Virginia) and by a peculiar conformation of the skull and face. Animal and sensual nature largely predominates with them over the moral and intellectual. It is they who commit crimes, fill prisons and adorn the gallows. * * * * * They ran away from liberty.

Had they feudal lords or masters like Russians, Hungarians and Turks to furnish them homes, and subsistence, not one of them would quit.

* * * * * In a few years the blasphemous reformers will curse heaven that it did not bless the North with African slavery, the only antidote to a crowded, motley, foreign and native population.

* * * * * When Owen and his compeers (the people

of New England and the North) cite an instance in history of any considerable civilized nation, the mass of whose people continued prosperous and contented for three centuries, without domestic slavery, or some similar institution, (but *with* them the masses are contented and happy, as witness France before the revolution and the rest of modern Europe) it will be time enough to call on *us*—"who have a happy, quiet, contented society" (only we require a northern police, acting under peril, "to prevent its escape")—to imitate their institutions."

What say you, strangers, you of the "peculiar conformation of the skull and face" (not dough faces) you who are partial to stone residences and to dancing jigs upon nothing? Was it "liberty" you "ran away from"? did you "quit" because you had no masters? was it masters you came for? I can guide you all in the way you should go. Stain your skins a little yellowish—never mind the hair, straight will do; especially you of the "*faderland*" have curl enough in yours—and start for Richmond—inquire for the State where Washington lived (you have heard of him, he was one of your run-away-from-liberty fellows)—on arrival report yourselves "fugitives from freedom" and send for an auctioneer.

Herein is explained too why it is that we "natives" have become such "degenerate Grreeks." Why it is that *we* can no longer do without a master. We are in the third century of a foolish attempt to keep up a prosperous civilization without slavery. Perhaps the few slaves that some of us had, for a time, was the *salt* that preserved us hitherto, and that now it is losing its savor, and we are about to "curse heaven" in our *putrefaction* presently to follow.

It is easy to understand why men who think "feudal lords" or other "masters" for the people so necessary to preserve civilized nations from the sin of cursing heaven, and the masses from discontent, should, by a natural sympathy and "fellow-feeling," be drawn lovingly towards those of the same pious and philanthropic political principles. Hence we need not stare, or be astonished, be "amazed," as the "distinguished Senator from Michigan" would say, at the merely *seeming* inconsistency and inappropriateness, when we find, in leading papers of *Southern democracy* such language as the following :

It is the uniform testimony of intelligent writers that the Russian

peasantry or *people* are more content, enjoy a larger measure of social and domestic comfort, and are more attached to their institutions than the same class under any other Government in Europe. * * *

Why, then, have we become the enthusiastic partizans of France, (France has no serfs like Russia, or feudal lords, just now. The French peasantry, people, "canaille," though "well contented," and well *enough* off, not more than one in ten of them having died of starvation, yet, being "tampered with" by anti-feudal abolitionists, did one day, eat up, devour and quite make an end of, at one "fell swoop," or soup, their feudal lords, root and branch, not even leaving enough for seed—and a bloody supper they had of it) and England (England though partial enough to some kinds of slavery, and the very pink of aristocracy, yet *abolishes* "African slavery,") in their struggles with Russia? * * * What principle shall dictate the policy of this Government under such circumstances? Shall we, *like the canting fanatic, obey the impulse of a morbid philanthropy*, or shall we steer our course by the *maxims of State*? Shall we feel more concern for the effete empire of the barbarous Turk than for our own *interests*? Shall we yield to the influence of England and France and passively fall a victim to their intrigues, or shall we *throw out the hand of friendship to Russia* and thus abate their aspiring pretensions and counteract their *ominous* alliance?

Oh! "throw out the hand of friendship to Russia" by all means, and perhaps Austria would be happy to join. So you shall be in a promising way to kill two birds with one stone. In the first place, you will have a power which will be at least *willing to attempt* to exercise itself according to the following directions of the (worthy captain) *Richmond* (Va.) *Examiner*.

"This power should be so exercised as to *crush out*, really and truly, the Freesoil and Anti-slavery fanaticism. There should be no peace or truce allowed the insidious enemy. "CRUSH IT OUT!" should be the shibboleth and watchword."

(Be careful that you don't crush out more of it than you will know what to do with.) And in the second place, you may realize the darling wish of your hearts and clutch Cuba if—you are strong enough.

We of the North are in a pretty promising way, after all.—Our *anti* slavery is to be "crushed out" of us—if not otherwise, by "throwing out the hand of friendship to Russia"—whereupon, of course, the *love* of slavery will take its place; the South

will be kind enough to breed, *or beget*, the slaves for us ; so, if we piously pray in that direction, shall we escape the "predestinate" sin of "cursing heaven" for the want of slavery.

Alas ! if we should not *live* to see that happy day !—for we are in danger of another kind of crushing. Not to have our anti-slavery and other impurities crushed out of us ; but to be ourselves *crushed*, quite trodden into pulp. But then our blood will stain no vulgar feet. Listen with what queenly dignity (alias, "solemn swell!")—by the mouth of her Mountjoy herald and favorite trumpeter, the *Richmond Enquirer*—our "well born" mistress "from her elevated pedestal" passes sentence upon us, which she will herself "condescend" to execute.

"Virginia, in this confederacy, is the *impersonation of the well born, well educated, well bred aristocrat*. She looks down from her elevated pedestal upon her *parvenu*, ignorant, mendacious, Yankee vilifiers as coolly and calmly as a marble statue. Occasionally, in Congress, or in the nominating conventions of the Democratic party, she *condescends*, when her interests demand it, *to recognize the existence of her adversaries*, at the very moment she *crushes* them."

Hearst thou ? dough-face. There is a specimen of the "well bred" for you—but let us not be angry, for very *pity*.

O, Virginia ! eldest and, by nature, fairest sister of the family ! once patrician indeed ; now decayed and shrunk to the "shabby genteel !" and fallen to the mock heroic ! Mother of Washington, of Marshall, of Madison—mother of the Declaration of Independence—mother of the Constitution, except its faults ; now self-doomed to give birth only to scrub politicians and flunky editors and to be the br—d—r,—but I will not speak it. Let me rather walk backwards and cover thy shame !

O, Slavery ! Pandora's box ! "eldest-born of Sin !" surely, there are still "envious deities" who rejoice at human imperfections and purpose human ills. Without this blot ! this shame ! this blight ! this curse ! this firebrand of discord ! how happy, beyond earthly fortune, were these States !

As Mr. Madison asserted in the Federal Convention, "that the difference of interest in the United States, lay not between the large and small, but the Northern and Southern States ;" so has it proved and ever will prove, and the ground of this differ-

ence is "African Slavery." It is Slavery and only Slavery, "Goblin damn'd,"—

" That dares to advance
Its miscreated front athwart our way ;"

a way otherwise unimpeded, and path open, towards honor, renown, and more than human prosperity. Slavery, in our fathers' time, meek, humble, self-apologetical, ashamed of its own blackness, asking leave to die, (" If left to herself, she (Georgia) may probably put a stop to the evil." Madison papers, p. 1393) now tosses high its Gorgon head with air imperial and demands of the North and commands, *obedience* " at our peril."

Slavery, the right to enslave and make property of MEN, is to be declared, nay has been declared from the American Capitol, one of the inherent and inalienable *rights* of freemen; an essential element in the *national* organization; is to be *transfused*—for there *was* no inherent drop of it there—into the Constitution of the United States, and to become its very heart's blood. The National Government is to become a great slavery "propaganda," and grand missionary society for the *diffusion* of this new gospel of freedom. We are to stand up with shameless, brazen front and strumpet voice, and proclaim *this* in the ears of mankind. This, sometime, "peculiar institution" is to be "peculiar" no longer, but is to be the grand machine of freedom—the South is to work it and the North, "*at its peril*," is to stand sentry over it. Such, dough-faces, is the Southern platform, and, "*at your peril*," you have got to march on to it.

Well, even this were not much if, besides being of Southern origin, it were accompanied only with Southern insults and backed only by Southern apologists and Southern threats.—These Southern coals, after all, are not very hot. They can only bring up the *bake-pan* to the temperature of a pretty decided and healthy indignation. They are not sufficient to stamp a permanent "red in the face." I know not how it is that we have not so deep a feeling of shame, and sentiment of reprobation, when a Southern man defends or ignores the injustice of slavery, as when a Northern man does the same. The moral degradation which follows familiarity and contact with, and the habit-

ual practice of any vice whatever, though it does not diminish the guilt or lighten the responsibility of those who thus demoralize themselves, does yet, somehow, in relation to the feelings, if not in the estimation of men, extenuate the enormity of their conduct, and they are not, for some reason, judged as severely as are those fresh from the regions of virtue, who do the same things. When told that the habitual thief has stolen, nobody cares except the loser; but if a man of unblemished character is convicted of larceny, the whole community is moved. All the world expects the common drunkard to be found in the gutter—the pirate to be bloody-minded—the strumpet to be unchaste. The world, therefore, is indifferent, or feels just enough to make it a *pleasurable excitement*. So, when we read that *gentlemen* at the South, not unfrequently sell their own children, we smile, (though perhaps a little on the wrong side of the mouth) as if it were a pretty good joke. But if any *creature in human form* in Massachusetts or Vermont, were known to have sold his own child into slavery, would not one wide shriek of horror arise to heaven at so infamous a crime! We, somehow, naturally expect, and are, therefore, the less excited at all sorts of flunkey insolence from men whose *rights* originated in piracy, and are maintained by filching the labor of *slaves* extorted by the lash.

But when men baptised in the uncontaminated waters of freedom, and reared on *honest* bread, with a sophistry worthy of the “father of lies,” attempt to make the “*peculiar*” shame a *national infamy*; would inoculate the stinking ulcer of the extremity—fit only for excision—upon the “unsmirched” face of our beautiful mother; would sell us and her to this unutterable degradation—then, let shame prepare to blush indeed, and indignation turn to bitter wrath. Truly, here are coals hot enough. Try them, my countryman, and if they do not bring thee to thy color, thou hast a swine’s face and art no man.

An approved, because successful, method of bringing to the ground any structure, however firm its base or massive its walls, is to undermine the corner-stone. Now the foundation stones of our whole *national* superstructure, as all the world knows, and as every man is conscious the moment he thinks of it, are the

principles of the Declaration of Independence. I do not know that, until now, more than one American citizen, and he, thank heaven, was not a Northern man—has dared, in *open day*, to put forth his impious hand to touch these sacred foundations. Many there have been, who, conscious, with instinctive perception, that slavery cannot stand there, have attempted, burrowing mole-like, to sap them *unseen*. It was reserved for a scrub-politician of the West, and lick-spittle of the South, to offer this impudence to the North. “The distinguished Senator from Michigan,” very politely informed him that he is an ass;—which is past disputing—not, however, for his attack upon the Declaration of Independence, because the “distinguished Senator’s” own course is but a burrowing beneath it. But *he* is too old a gambler to show his hand, like his asinine partner. Here is *his* (the ass’s,) trump-card; look at it! freemen of the north side of “the line”—*that was*.

“It is alleged that all men are created equal, and the Declaration of Independence is referred to, to sustain that position. * * * It is not true in fact; it is not true in law; it is not true physically, mentally, or morally, that all men are created equal. (Who ever asserted any such thing to be true, *my man?*) * * * If Mr. Jefferson had said in his Declaration of Independence that all men *constituting portions of the body-politic*, ought to be equal, ought to have equal political rights, (not “all men,” mark, but “*portions of the body-politic*,” that is, one State to legislate if it choose, that *all* its inhabitants shall be equal before the law, equally defended in their “inalienable rights;” another State to legislate that one half its inhabitants shall be the slaves of the other half—such is *this man’s* notion of equality.) there would have been something like propriety and wisdom in it. (But to assert that all men are equal, and ought to be equal, in that they are equally endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—*that was* devoid of all “propriety and wisdom”; for why? it is no longer the Southern doctrine.) * * * I cannot believe that Mr. Jefferson ever intended to give the meaning or force which is attempted now to be applied to this language (by whom, except by yourself, *pitiful sophist?*) when he said; “we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.” *I hold it to be a self-evident lie.*” (Pettit of Indiana, in the Senate on the Nebraska Bill, Feb’y. 20, 1854. Append. to the Cong. Globe p. 214.)

Well, sir, Mr. Jefferson probably was not, just then, thinking of the verbal tricks of small lawyers; but if he meant what, even under the appropriate definition given of you by the "distinguished Senator from Michigan," *you very well know he did mean*, then your Nebraska sophism requires that his meaning should be distorted in order that it may be ridiculed. Perhaps, sir, you may have occasion to remember the adage in regard to playing with edged tools. It would have been more prudent, I think, to ignore the existence of the Declaration of Independence, as did the *less* asinine politicians around you, for instance, the "distinguished Senator from Michigan." Will the people of Indiana find and believe that you have so annihilated the principles of the Declaration of Independence that as a logical and natural consequence, there can be no objection to *blotting out the line of freedom*? Will *that* be their *finding* when you come before their tribunal?

But the friends and defenders of the "unalienable rights" with which "all men" are equally endowed by their Creator, must feel less of anger than contempt towards so small an enemy, were it not that he is to be considered as the Index of the thoughts, wishes, and purposes, of others, who, until they have first felt the way, are too prudent to do more, in their own persons, than to imply and insinuate the same things. Let us leave him to be dealt with by the people of Indiana, while we listen to a few more of the *northern* camp-followers of the army of infamy, and then come to the renegade captains of this invasion of the territory of freedom, this attack upon the most sacred rights, and insulting defiance of the deepest feelings, of mankind.

Listen, freemen, if you dare call yourselves freemen, where such language is used.

"They (the people of the territories) know what product of the soils the best and most *profitable* to them; *what kind of labor will yield the greatest revenue*—whether free or slave labor. Then why not let them act upon and choose them? Why not let them pass such laws as their own welfare may require? and what state in the Union will deny them the *right*? Can Massachusetts? No; for she was the first herself to resist the *oppressive laws* of England. Can any one of the New England States? No; for they have equally felt and resisted *oppression*. Can Pennsylvania? No; for she too has risen up in op-

position to *oppressive laws*. (Bridges of Pa., Append. Cong. Globe p. 354.)

Is not that language admirable ! my countrymen, in the mouth of a northern legislator ? Could a New England farmer speculate more coolly on the question whether oxen or horses, considering the character of his farm, would make the most profitable team for him ? Could any christian man, any honest man, or respectable devil even, suspect there was involved here the question whether or not MEN, "in the image of God," and the children of God, should be degraded to beasts, driven like oxen under the lash or the goad, bought and sold like other animals, propagated for the market by promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, the owners playing "pimp" (thank you for the word, Mr. Enquirer) for the likeliest males, and otherwise improving the merchantable qualities of the "stock," as we breed swine ? *this ! this ? yes this ! ! !* my countrymen, as it might or might not be deemed the more *profitable* to work MEN or horses ! And then the logic of this admirable, would to heaven I could say *unique* extract !! Did not Massachusetts refuse to submit to the smallest encroachments upon her natural and inalienable rights and liberties, to any form of injustice ? Did not New England refuse to be enslaved ? Did not Pennsylvania fight for freedom, even for the freedom of a negro born of a fugitive slave upon her soil ? (See *Prigg vs. State of Pennsylvania*.) How then can these States, since it is their duty, with others, to give organization and birth to embryo States—how can they "*deny them the right*" to have incorporated, among their organic laws, one which shall permit them—*if they shall deem it most PROFITABLE*—to *work* men, whom they have plundered of the very right to be men—MEN instead of horses in their fields, to the extent of one-quarter, one-half, or two-thirds, as the case may be, of their inhabitants ? Can Massachusetts be guilty of such inconsistency ? Can the "Cradle of Liberty" inflict such flagrant outrage upon *the just rights* of freemen ? Can Massachusetts so *oppress* her brethren ? Can *Massachusetts* deprive, it may be her own children, of the right to employ the most *profitable labor* ; of that necessary "inci-

dent" of self-government, the "inalienable right" to buy, and sell, and propagate for market, their fellow men.

Land of Morris and of Franklin! was *this* man the product of thy soil? and does he breathe in thy atmosphere? Alas! alas! from more than fifty *northern* mouths, speaking for twelve *free* States proceeded this same "smoke of the pit," filling with stench the nostrils of all honest men, and "smelling to heaven!!"

We need not stop to listen to any more of the liege-men of this dynasty of shame. When we have heard one we have heard them all. They one and all follow the cue of the leaders, except that some of them have not been sufficiently trained, and though on the scent of the same game, are apt to bark up the wrong tree. They *blurt out* about the right of the people of the territories to employ *such labor as they shall deem most profitable*—that the Declaration of Independence is a humbug &c., &c., whereas their more *cautious*, and as they reckon themselves, *crafty* captains, are careful to use such fine phrases as "non-intervention" —"the great principle of self-government"—"regulate their domestic concerns in their own way"; and plenty more of the same sort. One would suppose, to hear these *pious patriots*, that the fundamental principles of our *free* institutions had been undermined, that the Declaration of Independence had *really* become obsolete, and that they were aspiring to the glory of being called "Restorers of their country." Listen to the "distinguished Senator from Michigan."

"I have been *amazed* at the subtle arguments, politico-metaphysical indeed, which have been presented against the enjoyment of one of the most *sacred rights* which God has given to *man*."

"There is one barrier so plain that it cannot be overpassed through ignorance, and *ought not to be through design*. And that is the *internal, domestic affairs of these EMBRYO STATES*. We know we cannot touch their domestic hearths, nor their domestic altars, their family and social relations, their wives nor their children, *their man servants nor their maid-servants*, without a gross violation of the *inalienable rights of man*. There is no human intellect, however mighty it may be, which can render this plea of *tyranny* acceptable to the American people." Again, in answer to a question where the people of the territories get the right to legislate for themselves, he says: "they get it

from Almighty God." (Cass, on the Nebraska Bill, Append. to Cong. Globe pp. 277, 279.)

Now, freemen of the North, considering the occasion, the purpose, the *meaning* of these fair words, the conclusion implied here, is it not admirable? admirable!! *admirable* logic!!!

But hearken also to "the other shape," the *great* Senator from Illinois:

"The principle that we propose to carry into effect is this. That Congress shall neither legislate slavery into any Territories or States nor out of the same; but the people shall be left free to regulate their domestic concerns in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States.

In order to carry this principle into practical operation, it becomes necessary to remove whatever legal obstacles might be found in the way of its free exercise. It is *only* for the purpose of carrying out *this great fundamental principle of self-government* that the bill renders the eighth section of the Missouri Act inoperative and void." (Douglas on the Nebraska Bill.)

Do not be alarmed, dear dough-faces, there is nothing meant except to give you leave to "*regulate your domestic concerns in your own way*"—"to carry out this great fundamental principle of self-government," this "non-intervention" principle; and as "a mere incident of it" to "*render the eighth section of the Missouri Act inoperative and void.*" Can any American *free-man* complain of *such* a principle? For suppose, dear dough-faces, that instead of being organized into free States, as you are, and doing your own work as you do, you were inhabitants of a territory and now about to make your organic laws; if you chose to ordain that every third man of your people, with all their posterity, should be the property, do the work, pay the taxes, be "bound in all cases, whatsoever" by the will of the rest of you; would it not be your *right*? I demand of you to answer me as honest men and American freemen (do not dodge the issue) would it not be your right, and according to "*the principles of the Revolution*"? and tell me, does not your old "Missouri compromise line" abridge that *right*, that "*great fundamental principle of self-government*"? does it not involve, for all on the north side of it, the same principle of "*oppression*" against which

our fathers contended, and for which they laid down their lives?

When we reflect that under the language of these men, much of it sacred to freedom, and associated in the minds of those for whose ears it is intended, with free life and liberty, there lies concealed, or at least, attempted to be concealed,

“A universe of death; * * * *
Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable,”

to wit: the more than Circean horrors of MEN transformed to *beasts*, the horrors of slave-scourging, slave-breeding and slave-selling—when we remember that *this* is what these fair words *mean*, and that they were uttered by American senators in the American Senate, I say it is infamous sophistry! I say in the face of Christendom, infamous! and if I should say in the name of Christendom, infamous! from every quarter of Christendom would come back the damning echo—*infamous!*

This is “Non-intervention”! freemen of the North, “non-intervention”! a word intended for those of us who have the softest kind of dough-faces, “non-intervention”! It reminds one of the “Veiled Prophet” of eastern story, whom his followers took for a god. But when at length his enemies had stript off the silver screen, there was found under it a “gorgon dire,” a “goblin damned,” a face too hideous for human eyes. So under this flimsy screen of non-intervention, transparent to all except to the purblind, and to the ostriches who have stuck their own heads under it, there is what

* * * “seems woman to the waist and fair, (announced as
the goddess of Liberty)
But ending foul in many a scaly fold,
Voluminous and vast; a serpent arm’d
With mortal sting; about her middle round
A cry of hell-hounds never ceasing bark,
With wide Cerberian mouths full loud, and ring
A hideous peal.”

Such is this “fair creature,” Non-intervention, “raised” at the South, honored and worshiped there—the “great Diana” of these

"*Ephesians*,"—not *degenerate* Greeks—now condescendingly offered to the co-embraces of the North, and lovingly taken to the bosoms of—"the distinguished Senators."—

But—The South washes its hands of this business. "Sir, the South did not introduce this question here." (See Nebraska debates, all the way through that wide *chapparral*). The South has not obliterated "the line"—that *was*. The faith-keeping South has not "removed its neighbor's land-mark." The innocent South has not "murdered sleep." Oh! no!!

"Thou canst not say, I did it; never shake
Thy gory locks at me."

But let us look a little at what preceded the "bloody deed."

—"Sirrah, a word with you. Attend *these men*
Our pleasure?

—They are, my lord, without the palace gates

—Bring them before us—

To be *thus* is nothing,
But to be *safely thus*;—

* * * * *

Was it not yesterday we spoke together?

—It was, so please your highness.

— Well then, now

Have you *considered of my speeches*? Know
That it was he, in the times past, which held you
So *under fortune*; which, you thought had been
Our innocent self; this I made good to you
In our last *conference*;

— * * * "We are *men*, my liege.

—Ay, in the catalogue ye go for men;

As hounds and grey-hounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs,
Shoughs, water-rugs, and demi-wolves are cleft

All by the name of dogs."

It is with a feeling of humiliation and shame, not to speak of less passive emotions, that I find myself under the necessity of inquiring of American Senators, and for an audience of American freemen—what are the true principles which should preside over the organization of embryo States? Should the State be a community and commonwealth, in so far as to protect all its inhabitants *in common* in the exercise of certain "inalienable

rights," such as, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"? Should the ends of the organization be to give this protection to all, to "establish justice" and "promote the *general* welfare"; or should the organization be such as to secure these ends for a part only, while for the rest it gives no protection to these rights; and *for them*, promotes *injustice*, tyranny, robbery, oppression? As I said, I am ashamed to ask these questions. Let what follows be my apology.

The "distinguished Senator from Michigan" says :

"I concede, as I have said, from the peculiar, and in some measure, undefined relations between these communities (the territories) and the general Government, as a matter of necessity, Congress must interfere to organise governments."

That is, it is the duty of Congress to give form and organization to these "embryo States." Yet if Congress should so interfere with their "internal domestic affairs," should ordain for them such organic laws, as to forbid the exercise, in relation to a part of their people, of this same *injustice* in every conceivable form, even to selling their wives and children, nay even to *breeding their children for market* as the most "*profitable*" product of the soil; the Senator says—

"There is no human intellect, however mighty it may be, which can render this plea of *tyranny* acceptable to the American people."

Think, "American people," consider of the "*tyranny*" of forbidding any gentleman of Nebraska or of any other territory of the United States,—the "*tyranny*"!! of depriving him of the *right* to set up on his estate—a stud of horses? No. An establishment for the improvement of short-horns? No. A piggery? No. *A human brothel wherewithal to breed CHILDREN for market?* Yes!!! Do you say, Sir, that this is "one of the most 'sacred rights' which God has given to man"? Do you say, sir, of *this right*, that American freemen "get it of Almighty God"? and that all laws, lines and landmarks, ought to be removed which forbid or impede the exercise of it? That is precisely the *naked thing* which you do say, Sir. I will not attempt to characterize it, since no human language nor all human languages can furnish forth the words.

It will not avail you Sir, to raise the cry of abolitionism ! mere abolitionism ! No ; the present writer has never been an abolitionist ; and millions of northern men will respond to his sentiments who have never been abolitionists. But you and your southern allies are making us all abolitionists. Be assured you and they shall have abolitionism to your heart's content. For shame ! never speak more of abolition, it will never more serve your turn, miserable abolitionists of Freedom !

But "the Constitution" ! the Constitution of the United States, says this *new sect of abolitionists*, is the great Charter of freedom ; of freedom to—to—will not some devil furnish me with nether ink to write it—to *make slaves of our fellow-men*. This interpretation of the Constitution, I suppose they "get from Almighty God," or if not, He is not permitted to enter any protest against, or to legislate "in derogation of it," at least in the United States. Indeed how should He with His reputation for unchangeableness ; for have not the people of the territories got from Him the *right* to set up those establishments *for the propagation of children to supply the southern market* ?—if they deem that sort of stock-raising more *profitable* than piggeries ?

Our Fathers of the Revolution—if for very shame we dare to call ourselves their children—when they had determined to resist oppression, in justification of themselves before the tribunal of mankind, made a Declaration of what they conceived to be the natural or inherent rights of man ; and then set forth the violation of those rights in regard to themselves, as the sufficient reason why they ought to be absolved from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain. This Declaration *as it will probably be new to many readers*, I beg leave to quote :

"We hold these truths to be self-evident ; that all men are created equal ; that they (all men) are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights (for all men) governments are instituted among men, deriving their *just* powers from the *consent* (not the weakness) of the governed."

And among the violations of these rights as set forth in the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, were the following :

“ He (the King) has waged cruel war against human nature itself ; violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him ; captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. *Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold*, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt (of the colonies) to prohibit or restrain this *execrable commerce*.” (Madison Papers p. 24.)

The reason why this part of the declaration was not retained, Mr. Jefferson informs us. was the following :

“ The clause reprobating the enslaving the inhabitants of Africa was struck out in compliance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, (as all the other colonies had) and who on the contrary, still wished to continue it.” (Madison Papers, p. 18.)

Such are the principles which the men of the Revolution promulgated ; and after fighting for them and winning the power to govern themselves by them, they attempted accordingly, to embody them in a Constitution of Government ; in order, as they say—“ to form a more perfect union, to establish justice ; insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and *secure the blessings of liberty* to ourselves and our posterity.”

Based upon these principles of the ‘ inalienable rights ’ of “ all men,” these “ great fundamental principles of self government ;” and “ in order ” to *these* ends, they formed a *national* Constitution ; the Constitution of the United States. Now the better to understand the true interest and meaning of this Document on the point under consideration—if any except wilful misunderstanding be possible—let us very briefly examine further what were the opinions and feelings of men in those days, in the Convention that formed the Constitution, on the subject of slavery.

In the first "plan of a Federal Constitution" offered to the Convention (by Mr. Randolph, of Va.) there is no allusion to the existence of slavery expressed or implied. The slave-trade would have been controlled by the power delegated to the new government "to regulate commerce with all nations and among the several States."

After discussing this and some other plans, during eight or nine weeks, the whole was finally referred to a "Committee of Detail," at the head of which was Mr. Rutledge, of *South Carolina*. In the Constitution, as reported by him, first appears (Article VII. Sec. 4.) the following :

"No tax or duty shall be laid by the Legislature on ——— nor on the migration or importation of such persons as the several States shall think proper to admit ; *nor shall such migration or importation be prohibited.*" When this Section came up in Convention in its turn, it called forth various opinions.

"MR. L. MARTIN (Maryland) proposed to vary Article VII. Sec. 4., so as to allow a prohibition or tax on the importation of slaves. In the first place, as five slaves are to be reckoned as three freemen in the appointment of Representatives, such a clause would leave an encouragement to this traffic. In the second place, *slaves weakened one part of the Union, which the other parts were bound to protect* ; the privilege of importing them was, therefore, unreasonable. And in the third place, *it was inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution, and dishonorable to the American character to have such a feature in the Constitution.*"

MR. ELLSWORTH (Ct.) thought this matter belonged to the States themselves. The old Confederation had not meddled with this point ; he saw no greater necessity for bringing it within the policy of the new one. (The plan of many members at this time was merely to amend the Articles of Confederation.)

MR. SHERMAN (Ct.) was for leaving the clause as it stands. He observed that *the abolition of slavery seemed to be going on in the United States*, and that the good sense of the States would, probably, by degrees, complete it.

COL. MASON (Va) "This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants. The present question concerns *not the importing States alone, but the whole Union*. Slavery discourages arts and manufactures—produces the most pernicious effects on manners.—

Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven upon a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this. As to the States being in possession of the right to import, this was the case with many other rights, now to be properly given up. He held it essential in every point of view, that the General Government should have the power to prevent the increase of slavery."

MR. ELLSWORTH (Ct) "Let us not intermeddle. Slavery, in time, *will not be a speck in our country.*"

MR. GERRY, (Ms.) "thought we had nothing to do with the conduct of the States as to slaves, (slavery) but *ought to be careful not to give any sanction to it.*"

MR. DICKINSON (Delaware) "considered it as inadmissible, *on every principle of honor and safety*, that the importation of slaves should be authorized to the States by the Constitution."

MR. LANGDON (N. H.) "*was strenuous for giving the power to the General Government. He could not, with a good conscience, leave it with the States.*"

MR. RANDOLPH (Va) "*could never agree to the clause as it stands. (O, noble Virginian!) He would sooner risk the Constitution.*"

MR. SHERMAN (Ct.) "was opposed to a tax on slaves imported, as making the matter worse, *because it implied they were property*"

"It was argued that, on the contrary, we ought rather to prohibit expressly in our Constitution the further importation of slaves; and to authorize the General Government, from time to time to make such regulations as should be thought most advantageous for the gradual abolition of slavery and the emancipation of the slaves which are already in the States. That slavery is inconsistent with the genius of Republicanism, and has a tendency to destroy those principles on which it is supported, (as witness Nebraska debates) *as it lessens the sense of the equal rights of mankind* and habituates us to tyranny and oppression. (Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention, 1787.)

Such was the tone of sentiment from all the States with the exception of Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina especially, which was as obstinate and perverse as she has been ever since.

MR. BALDWIN (Ga.) "had conceived national objects alone to be before the Convention; not such as, like the present, were of a local nature. Georgia was decided on this point. If left to herself she may probably put a stop to the evil."

MR. PINCKNEY (South Carolina) "can never receive the plan if it prohibits the slave trade."

GENERAL PINCKNEY (S. C.) "should consider a rejection of the clause as an exclusion of South Carolina from the Union."

Several members expressing the opinion that it was better to compromise than to reject the clause at the risk of losing the three Southern States, it was committed, with some other things, to a Committee of eleven, who advised that the importation of slaves should be allowed until 1800. The report of the Committee of eleven being taken up,

GENERAL PINCKNEY moved to strike out the words "the year eighteen hundred," as the year limiting the importation of slaves; and to insert the words "the year eighteen hundred and eight."

MR. MADISON. "Twenty years will produce all the mischief that can be apprehended from the liberty to import slaves. So long a term will be more dishonorable to the American character, than to say nothing about it in the Constitution."

GENERAL PINCKNEY'S motion having passed in the affirmative,

MR. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS (Pa.) "was for making the clause read at once "the importation of slaves into North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, shall not be prohibited" &c. He wished it to be known that this part of the Constitution was a compliance with those States.

The next question was, whether the slaves to be imported should be taxed.

MR. SHERMAN "was against it as acknowledging men to be property."

MR. MADISON "thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution *the idea that there could be property in men.*"

This matter of the "migration or importation, of such persons as any of *the States now existing* shall think proper to admit" being disposed of—mark the fastidiousness of the language; the instinctive shrinking of the Constitution from the contamination of the very word *slave*—we hear no more of slavery in the convention until, Article XIV. of the report of the Committee of Detail coming up,

GENERAL PINCKNEY "was not satisfied with it. He seemed to wish some provision should be included in favor of property in slaves."

Article XV being then taken up—

MR. BUTLER and MR. PINCKNEY (S. C.) moved to require "fugitive slaves and servants to be delivered up like criminals."

MR. WILSON (Pa.) "This would oblige the Executive of the State to do it, at the public expense."

MR. SHERMAN (Ct.) "saw no more propriety in the public seizing and surrendering a slave or servant than a horse."

MR. BUTLER withdrew the motion and afterwards presented that clause of the Constitution which has been expanded into the present fugitive slave law. It is as follows :

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law, or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." (Madison Papers, pp. 1388 to 1396, 1427-8, 1447-8, 1456.)

The three fifths ratio of representation for slaves has properly nothing to do with slavery. The slaves here were considered as persons, not as property. It originated in this way. The theory in the Convention was that property ought to be represented as well as persons, or rather in preference to persons, (for the English way of thinking still prevailed) especially as they were thinking at the same time of *direct taxes*, as under the Confederation. "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned, &c." The great question then was how to arrive at a just comparative estimate of the property or wealth of the different States. After much debate it was finally concluded that the number of inhabitants was the fairest measure of the wealth of a State. But it was immediately objected by the South that a slave did not produce as much wealth as a free man. How much could he produce then, in comparison with a free man? Some said one quarter, some said one third, some said one half, &c., the South rating him low, and the North rating him high, both thinking of direct taxes and forgetting votes in Congress. Finally it was agreed that three-fifths of the "all other persons" (for the Constitution spewed at the word "*slave*") should be counted—a hard bargain for the South, according to what was expected, but a miserable one for the North as it has turned out. (Madison Papers, pp. 423, 430, 431. Secret Debates, pp. 42-3.)

The relation of the Constitution to slavery is to be determined wholly from these two clauses, viz :—that which empowers Con-

gress to prohibit the migration or importation of certain persons after the year 1808; and that which prohibits the States to discharge certain persons, escaping into them, from service or labor due by the laws of the State from which they escaped.

From these two clauses, illustrated by the debates in the Convention, I think that two things are plain beyond all honest doubt. First, that *within the then existing* States whose law tolerated slavery, the Constitution agreed to leave it exclusively under the "lex loci" or local law, to which its own jurisdiction did not extend. Second—that every where else, wherever it had jurisdiction, it claimed the right—which it agreed to waive for twenty years, in relation to certain States *then existing*—(mark the words) to prohibit the importation of slaves. Let us look at this clause again—"The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States, *now existing*, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited," &c.

Is it not manifest, from the wording of this clause, that the Constitution had power, *at any time after its ratification*, to prohibit the "migration or importation" of slaves into any *new State*? much more into any territory belonging to the nation, in regard to which it gives power to "make all needful rules and regulations." How then are slaves to get into a new State or into the Territories, against the will of Congress, if the Constitution gives it power to prohibit their "migration" thither from other States, and their "importation" from other countries? or if any object to this legitimate use of the word 'migration,' the power of Congress to regulate commerce between the States amounts to the same thing. Certainly here is power enough to prohibit slavery any where and every where outside of such of the old thirteen as are now slaveholding. But let it be admitted that the Constitution gives no power to prohibit slavery, or at least does not require Congress to exercise that power,—it will not help the pro-slavery argument. The true question is, does it give power to make slavery legal where it is not so? That is the question. Will "the distinguished Senator from Michigan" who, being a lawyer, knows well enough that that is the true question, have the goodness to inform mankind in what Article, Section or clause of the Constitution is to be found the power to legalize slavery,

to initiate it, where it is not? But can it become *legal* in any territory of the United States if Congress does not legalize it—notwithstanding the contemptible — were it not for the infamous purpose of it—drivelingly contemptible Nebraska sophistry of legislating neither one way nor the other? The truth is, there never was or can be a stronger anti-slavery document than the Constitution of the United States, in all cases and relations where it has jurisdiction, both in fact and in the intention of its framers. Even the miserable fugitive from labor clause, worthy offspring of South Carolina, is a mere treaty between the States, *as such*, that in regard to these fugitives from labor, the natural effect of free soil to make free men should not take place. No purpose in those who admitted it, to nationalise slavery can be inferred from it—it is a mere inter-State police regulation. Besides, it was expected that slavery was to be a temporary evil, that soon it “would not be a speck in our country.” Hence the fastidiousness of the Constitution in its language. It was not to be contaminated even by contact with the odious words “slave” and “slavery.”

But according to the heaven-descended (“get it from Almighty God”) interpretation of this new “divine-right” sect of *Abolitionists of freedom*, the meaning of the framers of the Constitution and of the Constitution itself, may be logically and correctly paraphrased thus:—Whereas, we hold it to be self-evident that all men are created equal, in that they are all equally endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, such as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that to secure these rights, governments are, or should be, instituted among men;—and whereas, the present King of Great Britain has grossly violated these rights, among other methods, by waging cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty by a piratical warfare, the shame even of infidels, for the purpose of capturing and carrying men into slavery; and being determined to keep open a market where men may be bought and sold, has vetoed, by shameful prostitution of his prerogative, the frequent legislative attempts of these Colonies to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce; and whereas, We, the people of the United States having, by our

treasure and our blood, asserted these fundamental principles and successfully resisted these violations of them, do now enact this our Constitution of national government in order to establish justice, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity;——therefore, it shall and may be lawful, and a “great fundamental principle of self-government,” in all new communities or “embryo States” organized by and under this our national government, in any of the territories of the same, for the people of the said “embryo States” to declare, have, hold and treat as slaves, with all their posterity forever, such and so many of the inhabitants thereof as they, in the arrangement of their “internal domestic affairs,” shall deem for their interest and profit. And it shall and may be lawful for the said people to “keep open markets where men may be bought and sold,” and in all other respects to possess the said slaves, their wives and children as *property* to all intents and purposes, and to use the same for any purpose “profitable” to themselves, unrestrained by any “politico-metaphysical” consideration of the inalienable rights” with which “all men” have been “endowed by their Creator.”

There, brother dough-faces, is a fac-simile of the Nebraska logic. Is it not admirable? and intended specially for northern latitudes. Is it not complimentary to our understandings? Well! we have had a “great Expounder of the Constitution”—he is dead. Peace to his spirit, if the Ex-Gov. will let it alone. And now, so rapidly has it fallen into dilapidation, we have a great Restorer of the Constitution. The Nebraska captain—if the brother too near the throne does not dim his honors—is henceforth the lord of constitutional logic. Like all great orators too, he has the power of adapting himself to his audience. For is not his logic well suited to the comprehension of men who could be made to believe that the simple understanding between the States, expressed by the Constitution, that if a slave should stray from the one to the other and the owner should come to look for him, as he might for his horse or his cows, he should be permitted to take him away—who I say, could be made to believe that this agreement is capable of being transmuted into the infamous fugitive slave law, which makes

us, according to the threat of Mr. Cheves, and before the dissolution of the Union, a "police *at our peril*, to prevent the escape of southern slaves"; and, more damning infamy still, makes the national government the perpetual head of this interesting police department, backed by the whole power of the United States? Now why should not we, who have consented to believe that all this is in the Constitution, be supposed equally ready to believe that the *right*!—yes, backed by the "divine right"! "got from the Almighty"—to cultivate brothel produce in Nebraska for southern consumption; and to "keep open a market there where men may be bought and sold," yes, and women and children besides, is also in the Constitution? And to all this is not the blotting out of the Missouri compromise line—advocated by arguments so insulting that no *man* would reply to them except by a blow—a legitimate and logical conclusion? if we will not resent a *kick*, ought not we to be expected to quietly permit ourselves to be *spit* upon? yes, *spit upon*; certainly we *are* expected to submit quietly to that. For what is the answer of these *abolitionists of freedom* to the protest of outraged humanity, of indignant honesty, of insulted honor? Why, says that degenerated descendant of the beast that bore Balaam—according to the pedigree given him by "the distinguished Senator from Michigan"—that wisdom from the Wabash! worthy spokesman! there is no occasion for emotion. I have ascertained for your comfort, poor fanatics! that the principles of the Declaration of Independence are a "a self-evident lie."

But the opponents of the Nebraska bill, says the great captain of the *abolitionists of freedom*, speaking "from that bad eminence."—

"Do not meet the issue boldly and fairly and controvert the soundness of this great principle of popular sovereignty *in obedience to the Constitution*. They know full well that this was the principle upon which the colonies separated from the crown of Great Britain" &c.—"It is apparent that the Declaration of Independence had its origin in the violation of that great fundamental principle which secured to the people of the colonies the right to regulate their own domestic affairs in their own way. Abolitionism (he is speaking, simple reader, of

the abolitionism which would diminish slavery and the infinite oppressions inseparable from it, not of that of his own sect, the *abolitionists of freedom*—as you might suppose) proposes to destroy the *right*, and extinguish the principle, for which our forefathers waged a seven years, bloody war," &c., &c., to the end of the chapter. (See Douglas on Nebraska.)

The gentleman seems fond of *principle* ; especially of *fundamental* principles ; and particularly of *great* fundamental principles. What, then, is the great fundamental principle of "The Bill"? Why, *to institute slavery under the Constitution* ! "in *obedience* to the Constitution"! the great, and venerable, and long established principle that "might makes right"! ! "To this complexion must it come at last," turn it in what light you please. And yet he dares to appeal to the Declaration of Independence and to the assertion of the "forefathers" of the right to *resist* oppression, as implying, for the children, the *right* to *inflict* oppression ten thousand-fold more severe than that which their fathers resisted. The fathers rebelled because their government interfered with their domestic affairs by thrusting *slaves* upon them ; therefore the children have the inherent right of all *freemen* to *institute slavery*. This man has dared to use the language of the men of the Revolution and impudently to ask us to believe that it means the same thing as it did in their mouths, when applied to his own infamous purpose!! dough-faces? yes, and putty-brains!! if this logic deludes us. Certainly he takes us for cravens not only, fit to be spit upon, but idiots also—or he is himself one.

But besides "*the great fundamental principle of self-government*" which of course is amply sufficient, there are other small reasons, comparatively small, not essential, but useful to fill up the chinks of the argument, of themselves pretty good reasons, why the Missouri Compromise line should be blotted out.

First.—The whole territory north of that line is wholly unadapted to slavery and nobody expects any slaves will ever go there.

Messrs. D., C. & Co., have merely taken it into their heads to enact an abstraction—so fond are they of *principle*, especially of a fundamental principle ; for instance, that all *freemen* have

an inherent and inalienable right "from Almighty God," if they choose to exercise it, to have and to hold *slaves*. But then nobody thinks of exercising it in such a northern region as Nebraska; any more than it was thought of in Europe formerly, when slavery was common in some other parts of the world. Nobody thinks of setting up any slave-breeding establishment there, any more than they do in Virginia. That is one reason for blotting out the line, to which, certainly even "the ignorant and fanatical masses of the North" cannot object. There is a sugar-plum for you, ye three thousand intermeddling parsons of New England, so go to your studies and be quiet.

Second.—Slavery is not what it was when the Constitution was formed.

When MARTIN thought it "dishonorable to the American character to have such a feature in the Constitution";

When MASON "held it essential in every point of view that the General Government should have the power to prevent the increase of slavery";

When GERRY thought they "ought to be careful not to give any sanction to it";

When Mr. DICKINSON thought that "on every principle of honor and safety" the States ought not to be permitted to import slaves;

When Mr. LANGDON "could not with a good conscience leave it with the States";

When EDMUND RANDOLPH "would sooner risk the Constitution";

When Mr. SHERMAN would not have slaves taxed because "it implied they were property";

When Mr. MADISON "thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man"; and called slavery "the most oppressive dominion ever exercised by man over man";

When PATRICK HENRY "detested it—deplored it with all the pity of humanity";

When the Committee that presented the Declaration of Independence, JOHN ADAMS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ROGER SHERMAN, ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON, THOMAS JEFFERSON, thought it

one of the worst crimes of the British King, that he was “determined to keep open a market where men may be bought and sold”;

When JEFFERSON “trembled for his Country as often as he remembered that God is just”—“thought however, only a few could be found who would deny that Slavery ought to be abolished, just as we find here and there only, a *robber* or a *murderer*”;

When JAY thought slavery was an “iniquity which the government should seek in every way to abolish”; that “till America comes into this measure, her prayers to heaven will be impious”;

When JOHN ADAMS thought that “*consenting* to slavery was a sacrilegious breach of trust”;

When HAMILTON petitioned for those “who, free by the laws of God, are held in slavery by the laws of the State”;

When FRANKLIN petitioned Congress “that it would be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who, alone in this land of Freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage”;

When GOUVERNEUR MORRIS pronounced domestic slavery a “nefarious institution, the curse of heaven”;

When WASHINGTON said “that it was among his first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery may be abolished by law”;

Slavery, I say, is not what it was when such men held such opinions. Those old times of revolution were rough and harsh. Slave-owners were even *tyrannical* sometimes, according to Mason and Jefferson. The slaves were not always properly cared for. They had not, at that time, found out the use of blood-hounds to help hunt up the poor creatures when they strayed away, so that they might not starve in the swamps.

And then they had not discovered the modern method of shortening their term of service—the commutation for ten years system—by finding out that it was more “*profitable*” to use them up in that time and buy fresh ones, than to compel them to live longer.

Now, such, in seventy-five years, has been the advance of civilization and philanthropy, *Slavery has become a grand missionary System*, (see Nebraska debates) by the operation of which, poor pagans, brought from dark heathendom to this land of "gospel light and liberty," are *worked over* into pretty fair average christians—some of them quite as good as their masters—and O, admirable economy ! beautiful plan for killing two birds with one stone ! they are made to pay the expense of their own conversion. This wondrous invention, except that unluckily it is not new enough to be patentable, might be monopolized and sold to the numerous other missionary societies for enough to enrich the whole South. What a vast amount of cash, and how many valuable lives, wasted in various missionary enterprises, might be saved to Christendom by sending for the benighted idolaters, buying them of their native princes, making *property* of them, so that they could be properly controlled, and then compelling them to—"work out their own salvation" ! What miserable financiers, for instance, were the managers of that wasteful corporation which planned and executed the Christianization of the Sandwich Islands by most self-consuming thirty years' hard work on the part of their agents, and sheer money out of pocket ; whereas, all the work might have been made to come out of the Sandwich Islanders themselves, and they, the corporators, meantime, might have been putting money *into* their pockets. Hence the Southern lack of contribution to such projects of converting the the heathen where they are. The South "understands her own interests" better. The South takes home the heathen, and gives them the *quid pro quo*, gospel for work, according to the commandment—"Freely you have received ; (that is, you don't pay anything for the work) freely give." And behold ! dear reader, *what* the South "gives"—the free gratis gospel, which these heathen, who are working out their own salvation, get, in exchange for their free gratis work.

Specimen of a Catechism for slaves in the *Southern Episcopalian*, Charleston, S. C. :

"Who keeps the snakes and all bad things from hurting you ?
God does.

Who gave you a master and a mistress ?

God gave them to me.

Who says that you must obey them ?

God says that I must.

What book tells you these things ?

The Bible.

How does God do all his *work* ?

He always does it right.

Does God love to *work* ?

Yes, God is always at *work*.

Do the good angels *work* ?

Yes, they do what God tells them.

Do they love to *work* ?

Yes, they love to please God.

What does God say about your *work* ?

He that will not work shall not eat.

What makes you *lazy*?

My wicked heart."

What "Northern fanatic," now, will say that this is not a fair trade? head-work for hand-work. And the teachings—this South Carolina gospel—how admirably adapted to the very circumstances of the recipients! Such advantage has the South by having the heathen at her doors. And look what a monthly saving she makes by it.

Donations to one of the great missionary charities for February, 1854.

NORTH.		SOUTH.	
Maine,	\$1,154,27	Delaware,	\$320,00
New Hampshire,	1,346,45	Dist. of Columbia,	336,79
Vermont,	998,36	Virginia,	151,00
Massachusetts,	7,085,92	Georgia,	32,50
Connecticut,	2,297,93	South Carolina,	215,92
Rhode Island,	1,420,25	Missouri,	25,00
New York,	15,318,52	Tennessee,	34,00
New Jersey,	442,00	Kentucky,	15,00
Pennsylvania,	681,46	Louisiana,	20,00
Ohio,	1,361,15		
Indiana,	178,61	Slave States,	\$1,150,21
Illinois,	781,28	Other slave States wanting.	
Michigan,	645,34		
Wisconsin,	253,00		
Iowa,	34,00		
Free States,	\$33,898,60		

Thus it appears that the South is "wise and prudent"—the South has "ample leisure" to study such things. There is but one point that any body except a fanatic can complain of; and that is, that when she has christianized these people according to contract and *got her pay for it*, she *does not let them go again, but keeps them at work still*. However, it must be admitted that no amount of labor of the body can be more than a fair equivalent for the salvation of the soul! Now gentlemen, clergymen, and other men, who have taken ignorant umbrage at the Nebraska bill,—all that "the bill" *does*, all that Congress *does*, since "as a matter of necessity, Congress must interfere to organize" *somehow* these "embryo States," is to legalize, when requested to do so, in *uncertain* territories, this great, happy combination, at the same time labor-saving and soul-saving institution of slavery, "*in obedience to the Constitution*," and in accordance with the "great fundamental principle of self-government;" and "as a mere incident of it"—that is, in order that all mankind may partake of the benefits of it—be free to make slaves—to "*render the eighth Section of the Missouri act inoperative and void*." Certainly, brethren of the clergy, you have wholly misunderstood the purpose of this pious institution, or you never would have so berated "the bill."

Third. The arguments of the champions of the Nebraska bill remind one of a bill of indictment for assault and battery, which sets forth that the said C. D. did feloniously, unlawfully, wilfully and of malice aforethought, threaten, traduce, quarrel with, abuse, assault, beat, strike, cut, stab, wound, and evil-treat the said A. B. &c.

They mean to cover the whole ground, no matter how inconsistent one part of the declaration is with another. Sometimes slavery is a blessed thing, worthy to be taken to the bosom of all christian communities and especially adapted to the internal domestic relations of freemen. Sometimes it is not as bad as represented; sometimes, though we do not approve it, we think those who choose, have a *right* to adopt it, government ought not to interfere to prevent freemen enslaving their neighbors if they wish, they are the judges of what kind of labor will be most *profitable*; sometimes, if slavery be wrong, it is no worse

for us than for others, we are justified by the example of all nations, slavery has existed from time immemorial, &c. All which being interpreted means—we do not approve of wrong, though we do not dislike it as much as some people, and are willing to assist others to practice it; or—there have been rascals in all ages, and we have the same right to be such, as those who have gone before us.

Fourth. “We have a *happy, quiet, contented society*,” (no runaways, no Nat Turners) while “it is a notorious fact, that, throughout the little corner of Europe that has tried *this foolish experiment* (of trying to do without feudal lords and serfs, or domestic slavery in some form, dear dough-faces,) the class on whom the experiment was tried are ten times worse off than any slaves whatever.”—(*Richmond (Va) Examiner.*)

If now it were as true as it is, on the contrary, a flagrant lie, that you had succeeded in making *men* contented with the condition and character of *beasts*; that you had succeeded in divesting *men*, capable of the aims and ends of MAN, of their entire humanity—would it be possible to bring a more damning accusation against slavery than this? *this same* infamous apology for it? True it is that slavery aims at that consummation, and is to be judged accordingly. Does not all the world know what kind of *mental discipline*, by the aid of your South Carolina Catechisms, you hold to be “*essential to the very existence*” of slavery?

But slaves are better off “*quotha*” than the class on whom the “*foolish experiment*” of freedom has been tried, who “run away from liberty.”

You do well to compare them with men who are still drenched with the dregs, and blighted by the ineradicable curse, entailed on them by the institutions you laud so highly. Yet, even so, is not Hope, at least, left in the bottom of the Cup of these men? Have they not left, at least, the liberty “to run away from liberty?” and how many, do you think, of the tens of thousands of now independent American citizens, who have so “run away,” would be glad to return to what *you* call “*liberty*”!! Are your slaves as well off as the agricultural laborers of New

England? but who shall dare to insult the sons of New England farmers by such an infamous comparison? However, *our* "foolish experiment" is not yet quite three centuries old!

Fifth. Slavery was forced upon us, *thrust* into our "internal domestic affairs" against our entreaties to the contrary. Certainly, that is cool for the descendants of men who *thrust* into the Constitution a clause forbidding Congress ever to prohibit the slave-trade, and who insisted upon its remaining, with the threat of secession from the Union. (See Madison Papers, pp. 1389, 1393,) and who, when that would not be submitted to, entreated and obtained the grace of non-prohibition for twenty years. It is also tolerably cool, not to say impudent, for these same descendants now to assert (see speech of Gen. Butler, of S. C. in the Senate,) that a *compulsion to buy more slaves* for twenty years was forced upon their fathers by the votes of the North, because the North (weakly and basely I grant, for Virginia would not yield, nor Delaware) yielded the point to threats of secession, and entreaties, because "South Carolina and Georgia *cannot* do without slaves"—*yielded* as she always has since, and *never will again*.

Sixth. There will be none the more slaves because they are permitted to go into the territories and they will be much better off than to confine them where they are. So, being prompted by the gods, says "the distinguished Senator from Michigan." Amen! piously responds all slavedom! There is another sugar plum for *you*, philanthropic dough-faces of the softest consistency! Which being broken, the motto reads thus: "Slavery must have room, we must give it vent, it must spread or perish." Precisely so, gentlemen, who, "as a mere incident," "*as a mere incident*"!! have "rendered the eighth Section of the Missouri act inoperative and void." That is, have pulled down the fence for slavery to go wherever it may choose. Because why? it is much more profitable to *sell* them, than to *emancipate* any dangerous excess of slave population. "*There will be none the more slaves.*" "Tell that to the marines," and "to the distinguished Senator from Michigan."

Would there have been as many slaves as there are now if, at the time of the formation of the Constitution, there had been in-

serted in it, as there probably might have been, a clause for the gradual abolition of slavery in all the States except the three, in compliance with which Gouverneur Morris "wished it to be known" that a certain other Article was inserted? The difference is, *where the shoe pinches* is, that if slavery is circumscribed, you must get rid of your slaves *at any rate*, and in the other case you can exchange them for cash. It is extremely desirable therefore, besides increasing your political power, "to keep open a market where *men* may be bought and sold." Precisely so, gentlemen, voila, at last, the genuine cat let out of the bag! that is the *very* animal which lay rolled up in the fine flour of "the great fundamental principle" "which our fathers contended for in a seven years' bloody war"! You know as well as anybody, yes, better than any body, you who think yourselves concealed behind the flimsy curtain of—"Sir, the South did not introduce this question here," that if slavery is shut up, the fate awaits it which is said to happen to certain weeds; which are so noisome that, if there are many together, they presently stink themselves to death. You have yourselves brought this intolerable curse upon yourselves, knowing as your own records abundantly show, that offences, whether against the law of moral or of political righteousness—and this is both—necessarily involve the ruin of the offender. When it was easily in your power, by the exercise of a little manly energy—which alas! slavery takes quite away and substitutes for it brutal ferocity—to put away the evil from you as the North did, you refused even at the entreaties and warnings of your own fathers to do so; and now you think it a most unheard-of cruelty if you may not thrust upon those who were wiser, the just consequences to yourselves of your own obstinate folly. You need talk no more to us of the British King inflicting this miserable cancer upon your vitals; of northern votes forcing it upon you. If the King "determined to keep open a market where *men* should be bought and sold"; did he compel you to buy them? If a few northern wretches carried slaves to you, was it not because you tempted them by the offer of high prices? Was it northern votes which forced South Carolina to insist on making the Constitution a perpetual charter for the slave-trade,

or for twenty years at the very least? South Carolina! who was born and bred and "raised" in slavery, and loves it as a buzzard loves carrion. South Carolina! which has always been a fire-brand in the Union and will yet consume it. Yes, you must have drains and cess-pools for this filth of yours to flow into. You *must*, moreover, CRUSH OUT northern fanaticism and take entire control of the government, in such wise that, if there is dissolution of the Union, the *North* must secede and leave you to be "The United States of America." That you well understand—and so do we. Hence the Nebraska-Kansas bill—hence the "mere incident of it;" the "*mere incident of it*"!!—hence Texas—hence a second and a third slice of Mexico—hence Cuban forays and Spanish quarrels. More, more, your cry is still for more. You must have States, you must have votes in the Senate; since you can never hope for a majority of slave-holding votes in the House, and dough-faces, there may, *at some future time*, prove an uncertain crop. Do you ask why the South is not as much entitled to control the Government as the North? In regard to all other subjects you have the same right as the North, in proportion to your population; but in regard to your "*peculiar custom*," you have not and never can acquire any *right* whatever, beyond the limits of your own police-jurisdiction (and there you have only the right of the strongest). Because Freedom is the rule, by the law of Nature; Slavery is the exception, by the law of Force. By the same laws, Freedom is universal, Slavery is local. Freedom is general; Slavery is particular. And these things are so because, while Freedom is morally and politically right and a virtue; Slavery is morally and politically wrong and a crime; or, as the Frenchman said,—which may be a stronger way to put it to authors of South Carolina Catechisms and the "no religion and humanity" party —"it is worse than a crime; it is a *blunder*."

Men of the North, listen to the rally-notes of the old slavery-trumpet, still true to her nature, still foremost in the ranks of this shame.

From the *Southern Standard* published at Charleston, South Carolina.

"A general rupture in Europe would force upon us the undisputed

sway of the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indies, with all their rich and mighty productions. Guided by our genius and enterprise, a new world would rise there, as it did before under the genius of Columbus. With *Cuba and St. Domingo* we could control the productions of the tropics and with them the commerce of the world and *with that* the power of the world. Our true policy is to look to Brazil as the next great Slave power and as the Government that is to direct or *license* the development of the country drained by the Amazon. Instead of courting England, we should look to Brazil and the West Indies. The time will come when a treaty of commerce and alliance with Brazil will give us the control over the Gulf of Mexico and *its border countries, together with the Islands*, and the consequence of this will *place African slavery beyond the reach of fanaticism at home or abroad*. These two great slave-powers now hold *more undeveloped territory* than any other two Governments, and they ought to guard and strengthen their mutual interests by acting together in strict harmony and concert.—Considering our vast resources and the mighty commerce that is about to expand on the bosom of the two countries, if we act together by treaty *we can not only preserve domestic servitude*, but we can defy the power of the world. With firmness and judgment *we can open up the African SLAVE EMIGRATION again, to people the noble region of the tropics.. We can boldly defend this upon the most enlarged system of philanthropy.*

* * * * The time is coming when we will boldly defend this emigration before the world. The *hypocritical cant and whining morality* of the latter-day saints will die away before the majesty of commerce and the power of those vast productions which are to spring from the cultivation and full development of the mighty tropical regions in our own hemisphere. *If it be a mercy to give the grain-growing sections of America to the poor and hungry of Europe, why not open up the tropics to the poor African?* * * *

We have been too long governed by psalm-singing school-masters from the North. It is time to think for ourselves. *The folly commenced in our own Government uniting with Great Britain to declare slave-importation piracy.* * * * And we have ever since by a joint fleet with Great Britain on the coast of Africa been struggling to enforce *this miserable blunder.* * * * If the slave-holding race in these States are but true to themselves, they have a great destiny before them."

Bake-Pan? say rather an Oven, broad as the cope of heaven! for is not this enough to blister the face of all Christendom?

Yes, *you* must *have* room—but, for your “hypocritical cant” of philanthropy to the *slave*—to enclose him is, by the very laws of population, to insure his freedom.

Go then, infest the swamps of the Amazon and the Orinoco, fit localities ; and we will take care that the line of freedom shall follow you. But for the Islands—ask leave of Christendom, and the North.

Room, *out of pure philanthropy to the slave*, you must have; but if he makes room by “migration” to the North, heaven and earth are to be moved until you crowd him back again ; and if your “police at their peril” do not forthwith run him down and restore him, at once re-echoes the original South Carolina howl of secession “making night hideous” and frightening the late doughy North “from its propriety.” Look you, “brothers of the whip,” in Article IV Section 2 of the Constitution are several clauses, one of which enacts that—“The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens, in the several States”; another enacts that fugitives from service or labor shall be delivered up on claim &c. Now would it not be “a wonder in heaven” and on earth, to see the armies of the United States marching with bristling bayonets, to rescue from your dungeons or from being sold into slavery, men as fully entitled under the Constitution, “to all privileges and immunities of citizens” as the tallest of your “dominant race”? and would it not be a still greater wonder to see you obeying in good faith the above recited first clause of Section 2 of article IV of the Constitution ?

Would it not be well that you should cease from the most outrageous violations of sacred *personal rights*, and immunities of both black men and white—(imprisoning and enslaving the one; and lynching and shooting the other with impunity)—guarantied by the Constitution ; before you rant and rave so alarmingly at what you call being cheated out of what you call your *property* ? yes, *cheated* you are, out of your property—your “internal domestic affairs” interfered with—the members of your family, *your very children* seduced to leave you. True, they soon become homesick, *pine for the plantations* ; but they cannot get back, they are too poor to go, and besides, the fanatics wont let them. Allow me respectfully to suggest to the

South—the South is benevolent in home charities, if not in foreign—the formation of Fugitives' (from freedom) Aid Societies, the generous purpose of which shall be to furnish pecuniary assistance to poor people desirous to escape from freedom. Send on your agents to every northern city; they shall neither be lynched nor otherwise shot, as a warning to others. The fugitives from freedom, with such aid and advice, can escape from the fanatics who are starving them, as they did from their masters who gave them a peck of corn a week. So, *by the showing of the South itself*, shall their fugitives from labor hasten home, at much less expense to their owners than by the present method—so, in a way satisfactory to all parties, shall the fugitive slave law become a dead letter—so shall the Union be saved.

Seventh.—“The South is excluded from the territories.” The South is robbed of her share of what was acquired by the common blood and treasure. What injustice! inflicted too, upon the North as well as the South! For, can Massachusetts go into the territories? Can New York? Can any Northern State? No. Then why should Virginia or even South Carolina herself, who is a slave-driver “by right divine” wherever she is? Mr. Smith and all his neighbors may go into the territories from any one or every one of the northern States; but can they carry with them the peculiar legislation of the State or States from which they *migrated*? So the Hon. R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia, or the Hon. Gen. Butler of South Carolina, may go into the territories with as many people as choose to follow them; but why should they be permitted to take *their* lex loci, or custom of the vicinage, with them, any more than the Smiths? No village lawyer in the United States, speaking as such, would risk his reputation by asserting that they have any such right. Nothing but a politician is equal to such an absurdity. Congress legislates for the territories directly or indirectly; and cannot, without violating the Constitution, divest itself of that function. *Has Congress power by the Constitution to initiate and institute slavery de novo?* That is the question, Mr. Douglas. Do not avoid the real issue. Do not *blink the principle*, Sir, nor cover your eyes with a *Non-Intervention*, but walk up and look it in the face. Is that in the Constitution Sir? Yea or No?

The great Expounder is dead, Sir ; and you are the great Restorer !—is *that* in the Constitution ? Well Sir, if that is not in the Constitution and if (by absurd supposition, for *not to do* what it commands, is as much a violation of the Constitution as *to do* what it prohibits) Congress is not the rightful legislator for the territories, but the people of the territories have the right, uncontrolled by any negative, “to regulate their own domestic concerns in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States,”—“in obedience to the Constitution,”—*where do* these people get the right to initiate and institute slavery *de novo* ? “They get it from Almighty God” !!! because, says the Constitution,—“The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, *or to the people.*” Ah ! I knew you would come to that, Sir. “The distinguished Senator from Michigan” has happily expressed it, in his *usual terse and laconic* manner—you could do no better than to adopt his language. The *freemen* then, of the territories of the United States have the “*inalienable right*” to *institute slavery therein*, and to incorporate it as one of the elements of the organization of those “embryo States” and “they get it from Almighty God” !! That you have asserted a thousand times *in the Senate of the United States* ! ! done up in “the great fundamental principle of self-government,” and wrapt in your napkin of “Non-intervention,” I only wished you to say it in so many words, that was all, Sir ; I shall not insult the people of the North by discussing that point. The principles of the Declaration of Independence are good enough for them and what they believe to come from Almighty God ; the commentaries of its asinine Expounder and your opinion, to the contrary notwithstanding. These principles they are not likely to exchange at *his* and *your* bidding, or the principle of the pirate ! the principle of the highway-man !

Eighth.—The enemies of “the bill” and of “*the mere incident of it*,”—the blotting out of the line of freedom—avoid the true issue. They come here prating of *morality*, their mouths full of “sickly sentimentalism,” on a matter wholly *political*. They have stirred up the clergy, and awakened fanaticism and are attempting a Union of Church and State. Such is the cry and

outcry of the South ; to which shouts responsive the whole batch and baking of the wax-dough pastry. "Religion and humanity have nothing to do with this question" (of slavery). (South Carolina in the Federal Convention.) Like sire, like sons ! this ever has been and is, the true text for slavery to preach from. It is pregnant, round, compact, full, appropriate and beautifully consistent. The text from the "missionary system" leads into troublesome logic ; it had better be let alone. Indeed it was long ago discarded by the knowing ones. South Carolina will perhaps try it again for a few sermons, when she comes (as she is about to come) to laud the philanthropy of reopening the slave-trade and to "defend it before the world."

Cry out—*Church and State* ! if you please, gentlemen, nobody shall prevent you. But allow me to submit that you are not likely to take much by that motion. The people of the North, let me assure you—if you are alarmed for our safety—are much less in danger of being entrapped in that delusive co-partnership than you are. For how could you even now defend *your State* (of slavery) without the aid of the *Church* ? Witness the South Carolina Catechism ! We of the North know right well the distinction between Church and State, and mean to maintain it. But are we therefore, in our political and civil relations, to ignore the moral character of man ?—to ignore the existence of an overruling and righteous Providence ?—to ignore the spiritual nature of JUSTICE ?—to originate all civil and political *rights* in mere *Force* ?—to *legislate* for *men*, as if we were making *rules* for *animals* ? Is not all this as unstatesmanlike as it is impious ? and when half the continent is moved to its depths, and five thousand ministers of religion, every one of whom would sooner cut off his right hand than submit to a union between Church and State, raise their voices against an outrageous moral, as well as political enormity, do you think to allay the storm, and smooth the raging waters, by your soft oil of—"sickly sentimentalism"—"poor ignorant fanatics"—"nothing but abolitionism"—"Church and State" ? Miserable Abolitionists of Freedom ! Have you never heard that the gods first infatuate those whom they mean to destroy ?

But this is not less a political, than it is a moral enormity, against which all *patriots*, as well as ministers of the gospel,

are bound to raise their voices. Among the ends of a true State are the physical and intellectual advancement and improvement of its citizens—for I suppose we may include *intellectual* good, without offending the “no religion and humanity” party—that is to say say, wealth, numbers and intelligence. Now in estimating the political relations and consequences of slavery in the State, we will leave out all consideration of the slaves—as we always have left them out.

In all political discussions between the North and the South, in regard to the *value* of the Union, and the relative *interests* of the *two* parties, the *interests*, much more the *rights*, of the *third party* in this business, have been as completely ignored as if such third party had no existence. Men of the highest distinction, not only South, but *North*, “honorable men,” yes, and honest on common occasions, with their mouths full of patriotic indignation at the oppressions of Poland and the wrongs of Hungary have, in calculating their mutual profit and loss, wholly ignored the existence of *a Nation* in their midst, in comparison with whose oppressions, the *sum* of the wrongs of both Poland and Hungary are not a drop in the bucket. Two bands of pirates could not more coolly, and *equitably* and *fairly* distribute the common plunder of a captured merchantman. In all this the North has been, one would think, sufficiently abhorrent of “humanity” and regardless of “religion,” to satisfy even South Carolina herself.

But I beg pardon, “religion and humanity have nothing to do with this question ;” and indeed there is not the least necessity to appeal to them. Its political bearings and consequences, its relations to the *State*, are quite sufficient to settle it ; and those too, determined not theoretically, but by experiment.

First.—In regard to intelligence. What says the census of 1850 of the comparative numbers and proportions of the free native inhabitants who cannot read and write in the free and in the slave States. Let us look at a few of the figures.

Of free adult persons of all colors, natives of the United States, those in several States who cannot read and write, are in the following proportions : In

{ Vermont, cannot read and write,	1	in 455
{ North Carolina, “ “	1	“ 7

{ Massachusetts,	"	"	1	" 444
{ Virginia,	"	"	1	" 11
{ New Hampshire,	"	"	1	" 321
{ Georgia,	"	"	1	" 13
{ Connecticut,	"	"	1	" 255
{ South Carolina,	"	"	1	" 17
{ Maine,	"	"	1	" 254
{ Maryland	"	"	1	" 12
{ Rhode Island,	"	"	1	" 100
{ Delaware,	"	"	1	" 8

This result, *contrast* we may call it, is sufficiently striking. And the comparison is fair, being between States of essentially the same age, in numbers not much unlike, and nearly equally free from foreign influences.

There is another *ca*ious fact comes to light from the Census, in regard to the colored people, natives of the United States, in these same free States; these same free negroes, who, as the South assures mankind, are the most degraded and miserable wretches on earth, longing to get back to slavery. On comparison of these same *free negroes* in the six free States above named, taken together, with the *whole free population* of the above six slave States, the result is found to be the following :

Of *negroes* in six *free States* who cannot read and write, there is 1 in 12. Of the *whole free population* in six *slave States* who cannot read and write, there is 1 in 11. Put that in your pipes and smoke it, ye "well-educated aristocrats." However, the true badge of the "well-bred" aristocracy is the *whip* and not the *pen*.

Lo! the "Roman Masters" we have chosen for ourselves, Jough-faces and "degenerate Greeks," more ignorant with all their "ample leisure," than northern negroes!!!

Lo! "the impersonation of the *well-educated* aristocrat"!

But can such statistics give any adequate idea of the incredible intellectual condition of the crackers, sandhillers, and other "poor white folks," not only, but of many rich planters, at the South, in comparison with the reading, thinking, intelligent, native yeomanry of the North? Not at all.

Second. In regard to numbers. Of the original thirteen States, six remain slave States, with an area of more than two hundred thousand square miles. The old free States, now be-

come nine, contain an extent of one hundred and fifty thousand square miles. These six slave States have a finer and, on the whole, more healthful climate, greater variety of productions, a richer soil, less waste land, and one quarter more of surface than the nine free States. In 1790, these slave States had a population of 1,908,000; these free States a population of 1,848,000. In the meantime the free States have furnished a much larger number of inhabitants for the new States than the slave States, more than enough to counterbalance the excess of foreign immigration into the free States, and yet, in 1850, the population of these free States was 8,314,714; of these same slave States it was 4,539,635.

Third. In regard to wealth. Compare Virginia with New York. Virginia has a quarter more of surface, a better climate, more valuable productions, a richer soil, better harbors, equal water-power, as valuable mines, a more favorable locality, and by natural position and advantages should be the agricultural, manufacturing and commercial centre of the Union. In 1790, Virginia had free white inhabitants, 442,000; New York had 314,000. Now Virginia has free white inhabitants, 894,000; New York has 3,048,000. The population of Norfolk, the Port of Virginia, having one of the finest harbors on the continent, is 14,000; that of New York is more than 500,000. The value of land in Virginia is something over eight dollars per acre; in New York, twenty-nine dollars. The value of live-stock in Virginia in 1850 was, in round numbers, thirty-three and a half millions; in New York seventy-three and a half millions; number of houses in Virginia 166,000; in New York 474,000. In commerce, manufactures and mining, the contrast would be still greater.

Not long since (1832) the *Richmond* (Va.) *Enquirer*, which now talks of "degenerate Greeks," "pimps and pedlers," quoted the words of, as it called him, "an eloquent South Carolinian, on his return from the North," as follows:

"We may shut our eyes and avert our faces, if we please, but there it is, the dark and growing evil at our doors; and meet the question we must, at no distant day. God only knows what it is the part of wise men to do on this momentous and appalling subject. (Oh! ex-

tend the "God's institution" by all means, so that even the North will not have to "curse heaven that it was not blessed with African slavery!") Of this I am very sure, that the difference ——— *nothing short of frightful*——between all that exists on one side of the Potomac and all on the other, is *owing to that cause alone*. The disease is deep-seated—it is at the heart's core—it is consuming, and has, all along, been consuming our vitals."

This is tolerably strong. And as it comes from a South Carolinian and is endorsed by the *Richmond* (Va.) *Enquirer*, it must be supposed to be pretty reliable. Whereas the North knows nothing of such matters. When Northern men visit the "other side" of the Potomac and behold whole regions of naturally excellent land, and which *they* would have made into perennial gardens, reduced to utter desolation and barrenness; and see the dwellings of the country resembling the house of the sluggard or the hut of the Hottentot; what right have they to say that slavery makes the "dominant race" incurably improvident and indolent, and the subject race irretrievably lazy and inefficient? They are not capable of forming any correct opinions on the subject of slavery. However, it is plain enough, from Southern testimony alone, that Virginia has yielded the sceptre which was hers by birth-right and every other natural right and for ——— oh! name it not.

A comparison of other States would prove decidedly, if not equally, unfavorable for the South in wealth, as in numbers and intelligence. And these differences are not accidental but—as all the world knows and as even the South used to confess and bewail—inherent in and inseparable from the system of slavery. The comparison of agricultural products alone, would prove less unfavorable to the South, because all its labor is applied to agriculture, being competent to nothing else, and that only in the coarsest and most slovenly manner.

Fourth. But there is another primary consideration, never for a moment to be lost sight of in estimating the well-being of a State. And that is, its power of self-defence, its power of resistance to enemies, within or without. Need a word be said on this point? does not the South know as well as the rest of the world that, in regard to defence against enemies from with-

out, in regard to *physical* power, at least in a contest with the North, it is weak as infancy? Hence its desperate struggles to retain and increase its political power. Is slavery in a State favorable to its *internal* self-defence? And here too, let us have Southern testimony; because the North knows nothing of the matter. Read the debates on emancipation in the legislature of Virginia, after the Southampton insurrection; when the now boastful Virginia shook in her shoes at the very name of Nat Turner, worse than did the King of England at that of Jack Cade. Not, as one gentlemen said, that she was afraid of Nat Turner—"No sir; it was the suspicion eternally attached to THE SLAVE HIMSELF—the suspicion that a Nat Turner might be in every family; that the same bloody deed could be acted over at any time and in any place; that the materials for it were spread through the land and always ready for a like explosion." In this debate can be found heavier accusations against slavery than all the abolitionists of the North can bring. Because the honorable gentlemen spoke from personal observation, and just then they spoke *feelingly* and with a "realizing sense" of its true nature.

MR. CHANDLER. "But sir, will this evil—this curse—not increase? Will not the life, liberty, prosperity, happiness and safety of those who may come after us, be endangered, in a still greater degree, by it? How then, can we reconcile it to ourselves, to fasten this upon them? Do we not endanger our very national existence by entailing slavery upon them?"

MR. MOORE. "I think that slavery, as it exists among us, may be regarded as the *heaviest calamity* which has ever befallen any portion of the human race."

MR. BOLLING. "The time will come—and it may be sooner than many are willing to believe—when this oppressed and degraded race cannot be held as they now are—when a change will be effected by means abhorrent, Mr. Speaker, to you, and to the feelings of every good man."

MR. BERRY. "Sir, I believe that no cancer on the physical body was ever more certain, steady and fatal in its progress, than is this cancer on the political body of the State of Virginia. *It is eating into her very vitals*, and shall we admit that the evil is past remedy?"

Yes, you did admit it. Your mountain brought forth a mouse, and you christened it—"Impossible"!! Now, however, having emboweled and forgotten Nat Turner, you have opened another stop in your slavery-resounding organ, and it peals another strain. Now South Carolina gives the key-note, Virginia plays second, the whole South joins in chorus, and thus runs the Anthem. It is the birth-right of freemen—A great missionary system—We will have Cuba—It is God's Institution—The North will yet curse heaven; that it did not get the blessing—A great destiny is before us—To prohibit the slave-trade; to declare it piracy; what a miserable blunder"!! what a "miserable blunder!!! Oh! how invariably and unavoidably all cowards brag; just as little dogs are given to yelping.

But no quantity of southern bluster, nor any amount of hypocritical eulogy of slavery, can make it any the less, in its political relations, a "deadly poison," a "withering blight," a "curse of heaven," an "appalling subject" a "fatal cancer, eating into the very vitals" of the State that tolerates it; (to use the strong and appropriate language of southern men) or conceal from southern men themselves, the black and portentous future which is to come out of it upon the heads of their children and which, instead of resolving with manly energy to *avert*, they are only attempting, like other imbecile people, to *defer*, by means which shall make the ruin more wide-spread and dreadful when it, at length, inevitably comes. Need patriotic men, need manly men, to be told that such an accursed thing is also *wicked*?

If there was no God in Heaven, and men were incapable of moral accountability; if *right* meant only "*profitable*," which is the highest conception of some minds; is this *politically* accursed poison of slavery an ingredient to be infused into the life-blood of new-born States? are the political consequences, necessarily involved in slavery, an inheritance for *us* to bequeath to our children? The South will, as it ever has done, continue to play the sluggard—"a little more sleep, a little more slumber"—and sacrifice the future to the present; the good of their children to their own sloth and self-enjoyment; but is there any reason why *we* should inflict this last of earthly curses upon *our* children and *our* future, by permitting the whole national domain to be contaminated by it? Even if our children were infatuated enough to

choose this miserable portion, and if they had a *right* to choose it, which they have not either morally or politically, except the right of the strongest, the right of the robber—every man ought to say in the words of Luther Martin, “I hold it sacredly my duty to dash the cup of poison, if possible, from the hand of a State, or an individual, however anxious the one or the other might be to swallow it.” (Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention, 1787.)

Ninth.—But the South has another argument in reserve—the grand “ultimate appeal” and knock-down argument, which, since it was first used by South Carolina in the Federal Convention, to the present hour, has hitherto never been known to fail ; to wit—“The South will secede” ! If the North dares to move in the matter of restoring the line of freedom or otherwise to restrain or to repress the advance of the slave-power, in whatever direction it chooses to go ; or to manifest other than the disposition of “degenerate Greeks”—the South will secede and leave the North to its own destruction. Oh, chivalrous South ! Oh, brave “migration” from Gascony ! The South will secede, it will ! then, without the aid of fugitive slave laws “shall its property be protected quite up to Mason and Dixon’s line,” and the dough-faces “shall be a police at their peril to prevent the escape of its slaves” ! Oh, braver than Hector ! six millions against fifteen ! an enemy in your citadel ! every third man in your population a dog at your throat, so soon as the disbanding of the *present* dough-face police shall give him courage to seize it ! No wonder the North has behaved like a whipt spaniel with his tail between his legs ! Ah ! self-complacent South ! “well born aristocrats” ! if it should turn out that it was the generous mastiff feigning fear at the yelpings of the village cur ! it may be prudent to remember that even the mastiff does not well bear a bite.

Such is the argument for the establishment—or re-establishment, as we are expected to believe—of the “great fundamental principle of self-government” the principle of *governing* one’s *self*—alias, the principle of *enslaving others* ! Such is the impregnable wall of pro-slavery logic, against which the chafed waters of Freedom dash in vain, only to fall back in impotent foam !

Such is the wall and such the rubble (or stubble) with which it is filled and chinked and carried up to its completion and Crown—the *chevaux de frise* of SECESSION.

Free men of the North, and who being free and rejoicing in your freedom, hold it not less an intolerable shame than a damning sin (were it possible to sin politically !) to claim at the same time with this freedom, the inherent right to make slaves of your neighbors ; democrats, after the principles of the Declaration of Independence, after the principles of Jefferson, the author of that Declaration ; honest men, who eat bread the product of your own labor ; do our ears bear well the assertion that to interfere with the purpose of men *legitimately under our political government and control*—to interfere with their purpose to *institute anew* and perpetuate *hereditary slavery*. with all its unutterable moral, social and political horrors—that, to interfere with *this purpose* is “*oppression*”!! and a violation of the “most sacred rights of man”!! that, *this* interference is to act precisely as did the British King in oppressing our fathers of the Revolution ? If the whole slave population of the South should rise against *their* tyrants, would not the case be perfectly parallel to that of our fathers, except that the slaves have ten thousand-fold more reason for rebellion than our fathers had ? and are we to be told that, if we interfere to prevent the subjection of as many men more to the same horrors of slavery, in regions now free from that unspeakable curse, that we are *oppressing* ! those who purpose to do so ; that we are violating their most sacred rights ; that we are outraging the principles of the Declaration of Independence ; that we are repeating the tyranny of the British King ?—Yes, freemen of the North, we have been told *this*—we are required, on pain of excommunication, to believe *this*, and to adopt it into our creed !! *This* has been asserted and reiterated, in the Senate of the United States ! wrapt in fair phrases, stolen from the vocabulary of patriotic and honorable men. In order to *this*, “as a mere incident” of *this*, it became necessary to blot out the line of freedom, and to take quite away its land-marks. *This*, with a *legerdelingo* of sophistry liable to impose upon the understanding of a Hottentot, is offered to *us*, reading and thinking men of the North, and who are neither pirates nor plunderers ! Are there any dough-faces of the *softest* sort who can be

taken in by this talk ? Now and then one there may be of Mrs. Partington's family.

But there is another class of faces, of the other kind of pastry, of which John Randolph sneeringly said—"if we had needed more of them, we should have had them, Sir." And was he not right ? and has not the South now, and before now, *got* "more of them" ? Faces there are both in and out of Congress, which, when all honest and honorable men of all parties, brought up to pass judgment upon this Nebraska measure and the "*mere incident of it*" !! this *direct* attack upon freedom and humanity, upon the rights and interests of the North, upon the welfare and honor of the nation, cry shame ! and infamy ! I say when all honest and honorable men cry shame ! and infamy ! upon this measure, and "*the incident of it*," these faces, with the coolest impudence, answer us—are you so green ? is this a time for school-boy declamation about freedom and honor and humanity ; to talk about the Declaration of Independance and such stale, Fourth of July, stuff ? will you risk the success of the party, that is, the danger of depriving us of our places and of the hopes of better ones, for such vulgar considerations as these ? Free-men of the North, of whatever party, shall we follow *such men*, for *such* men there are always, in all parties ? shall we be cajoled of our interests and our honor, by such stinking sophistry ? If we are, then are we "degenerate Greeks" indeed ; worthy the function of "pimps" ; worthy to be "a police, *at our peril*, to prevent the escape of slaves."

We have all been guilty together. We have all, for the sake of some present party interest, or party pride, or through dough-faced good nature played into the hands of the ever watchful and crafty slave-power. The democrats have done so ; the whigs have done so ; worst of all, considering their principles, the abolitionists have done so, and are still, more likely than any of the rest of us to continue to do so. For though the great body of the abolitionists are honest and honorable men, men of the right stamp for the present emergency, it must be confessed that they have had and have foolish leaders. But what political party does not become a hot-bed for the stinking mushroom growth of demagoguism ? Let us all beware now and hereafter of this

deadly bane of freedom. Let us trust no man who sets himself up as a party leader. Party leaders and party editors, men, I mean, who are ready to sacrifice the good of the country to the interests of their party and their own, are, next after slavery, the heaviest curse of the nation. They are liars by profession, and their employment is to make dupes. They are poisonous weeds that cannot be eradicated from the soil, but let us beware of them. Not that *all* editors are such, of all parties or of any party. Many editors, indeed, there are—human nature were bankrupt else—I trust there will be many more, who (though strongly enough partizan on ordinary occasions) scorn all party allegiance that cannot be retained without such sacrifice of honor and honesty as the Nebraska leaders demand, that is, to endorse and peddle in small doses, their atrocious sophistry—to *lie at second hand—to humbug to order*. But as there always have been and always will be pirates at sea where plunder is to be had; for the same reason the black flag is not likely to lack its body-guard of land-lubbers also.

Let us beware of such men, whether of our own or of any other party.

But, besides political editors who prefer their party and their pockets to their country, there are, I am sorry to say, a *few* men connected with the religious press, against whose influence in regard to the present subject, we have need to be forewarned. These are men against whose integrity—with the fewest exceptions, but it requires a charity having all the fifteen genuine qualities to except the Journal of Commerce—I have no disposition, and indeed no cause, to bring any accusation. They follow their religion so zealously and so far, in one direction, that they quite forget that it has jurisdiction also towards other points of the compass. With such *speed* have they hastened to “obey the King,” that they have gone quite out of sight and hearing of the paramount command, calling after them from behind, to “obey God rather.” They very honestly and fully adopt the old kingly “divine right” theory, and would have conscientiously adjudged their grandfathers to the gallows for high treason. By some mistake in the celestial way-bills, when they came down, they were booked for the U. S. A., instead of being

sent to Austria. But this is not the worst of it. When men willing to obey both "God" and "the King," attempt the repeal of unrighteous laws which they cannot conscientiously obey, these men are sure to throw cold water upon their efforts, as if they were fond, not of discipline and suffering for conscience sake; but of *disciplining their consciences*, of trying the experiment of how much *they* can be made to suffer without rebellion.

That any man who has reason or piety enough to apprehend the Christianity of the New Testament in its true idea, as a system of all-pervading *principles*, in distinction from a collection of *rules of conduct*—principles, acting not *directly* from without to alter men or States, but from within, evolving their own rules, and giving aim and purpose, and character and law, to all human relations—I say, that such a man should believe African Slavery compatible with Christianity is an impossible supposition. Of the very few men of whom I have been speaking, who believe this, or rather who do not see clearly why they should not believe it, it must be supposed that they have an inadequate apprehension of Christianity; or else the most plenary Charity, lacking not one of its fifteen graces, could find no apology for them.

For the Southern religious and other editors, and Southern Christians, many of whom (I will not say most, for I trust in Heaven it is not so) do *sincerely* believe in this "divine right" relation of Slavery to Christianity, I fear the explanation must be different. One cannot read *their* arguments in defence of their doctrines without supposing that they, many of them at least, come under the category of those upon whom has been sent "strong delusion," that they may believe their own *chosen* LIE. I trust however, that Southern sophistry has forever lost its power on this side of the *late* line of freedom, except it be over the *Journal of Commerce*.

There is still another class of men of whose influence some few of us have need to be watchful in regard to the question of slavery. There are *foreign* editors among us. And, unhappily for themselves and their former fellow-countrymen, though fleeing from oppression themselves, their pretended *love* of freedom is but a *lust* of enslaving others. But let them be assured and those also whom they are leading astray, that the American

people, that American parties, on whatever subjects they may be divided, will not long tolerate a third *foreign* party, an European party, to hold the balance of power between them for its own benefit, and for the benefit of its transmarine dictators. Not at all! Cousins! you are welcome so long as you behave yourselves as guests and conform to the rules of the family. But you must not think to bring here your *lex loci*, as the South proposes to go into the territories.

Let the great body of the foreign population, then, which is especially subject to such influences, beware of demagogues whether foreign or American. They will but cheat you with some present promises to your ultimate ruin.

Let us all, as one people, beware of our various seducers. Let mere partizans sacrifice their principles—if they had any—to their interests. *We*, who are neither office-holders nor office-seekers, we, the great body politic, can have no political interests separate from the common good and permanent interests, of our common country.

Let *us* follow the promptings of *our own* principles and feelings and—always excepting many office-holders and many more office-seekers—there are not, on the north side of the *late* Mason and Dixon's line, three thousand voters who would not vote right in regard to that line and on most other subjects relating to slavery. But we have all by means of lies and false leaders, played into the hands of the South.

And now behold the result! The South not only ridicules our pretensions to moral principle and heaps upon us every most insulting epithet expressive of baseness and cowardice; but, suiting the action to the word, puts forth its hand to grasp all political power, and says, restrain me "at your peril."

Time was, not long since, when the South spoke modestly enough of slavery. It was their misfortune, their weakness, their curse, but inflicted upon them by others. It was, however, their business to manage it, it was their *peculiar* institution, the North had no right to meddle with their *local* customs. To all this, the North with one consent, assented. For the abolitionists were less than a handful, and these were cried down, hissed down, put down, knocked down, yes, and shot down. We defended the national consistency and honor before the world, by

asserting and proving that slavery existed by a mere *lex loci coutume du pays*, or custom of the vicinage, over which the national government could have no control. We apologized for the South, as for men ready to put away the evil as fast as possible, and as doing as well as they could under the circumstances.

But now, "slavery is neither a moral, social, nor political evil." "It is God's institution." It is a grand missionary scheme by which the heathen are enabled to "work out their own salvation"—by the *aid of South Carolina Catechisms on work*"—all the free territories of the Union are to be opened to this "God's Institution;" the West India Islands are to be taken possession of, out of pure compassion, and to make homes for the lately neglected children of Africa; the slave-trade, the prohibition of which and the declaring it piracy was a "miserable blunder," is to be reopened and defended before the world; *The United States of America*, a name the sound of which once stirred the hopes and quickened the pulse of freedom in all nations, The United States of America is to become a grand slavery "propaganda," with a division of labor, the South to do the missionarying and the North to do the Police; and the national banner is no longer to bear the eagle "towering in pride of place" among the stars, but is to be emblazoned "*noir*," with a slave-coffle in the centre, and the margin of the shield appropriately adorned with wreaths of—— smoke from the Pit.

Freemen of the North, shall we permit these schemes to be consummated? Shall we permit our country, now illustrious among all nations, the hope of the oppressed, to become a by-word, a thing for scorn to point the finger at? a name for ancient despotism to rejoice at the sound of; and for freedom to hide its head in shame and despair?

Shall we permit ourselves to be politically enslaved under a despotism which has shown itself as faithless with its neighbors, as it is tyrannical over its slaves? Oh! the Missouri act was nothing but a repealable law of Congress! yes, but could any King of England have thus removed a land-mark of freedom, though not of record at all, without endangering both his crown and his head? Shall *we* make true the slanders of English toadies,

that the Saxon race degenerates in America? Let us give the South the benefit of the legal quibble (John Doe Statesmen that they are,) that henceforth we may know that our intercourse with them is to stand upon *quibble* and not upon HONOR. Has not the South more than justified the very worst accusations of the abolitionists and compelled *us*, their apologists, to *eat our own words* of soft extenuation? Shall we put not only our honor and the honor of our country, but our interests and rights into the hands of the South? While the people of the North can go into the territories only under the regulations of Congress, which can never "legislate slavery into the territories;" shall the South take along with it its accursed "*lex loci*"? which can never originate there, because "it amounts to the creation of a *new custom* which is now impossible." (Blackstone.) Shall the North—"degenerate Greeks"—yield to the South, "their Roman Masters," not only the territories, but, with them, all control over its own interests of agriculture, of commerce, and of manufactures?

Freemen of the North, if we are not ready thus to yield the keeping of our own interests and honor; if we are not ready to ridicule and renounce the principles of the Declaration of Independence; if we are not ready to inaugurate the wretched, infamous, *local custom* of slavery, as the *national* badge and emblazon it on the *national* banner; if we are not ready to hear it demanded of Congress to repeal the prohibition of the African slave-trade; if we are not ready to see upon the records of Congress—"Resolved, that to declare the slave-trade piracy, was foolish fanaticism and 'a miserable blunder';" if we are not ready to become "pimps" and panders to *all this*, and to constitute ourselves a perpetual "police *at our peril*, to prevent the escape of slaves;"—men of the North, if we are not ready for all this, let the North now speak; now at length let the North speak, the *North*—it is the slaveholding "*Unit*" which compels to this geographical designation—now at length let the North *speak*, or hereafter *forever* hold its peace.

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